

Peace

FOR BEGINNERS



Ian Kellas

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chapter 1

is about
nature

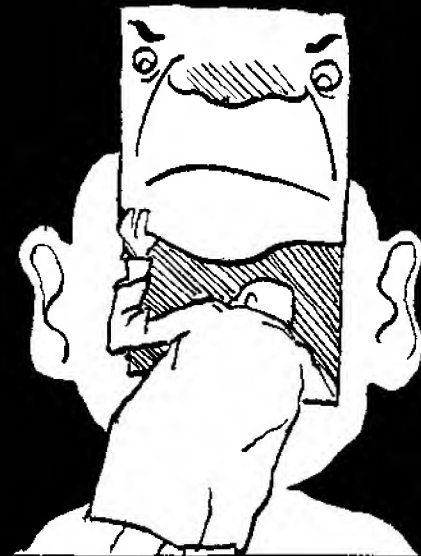
The argument

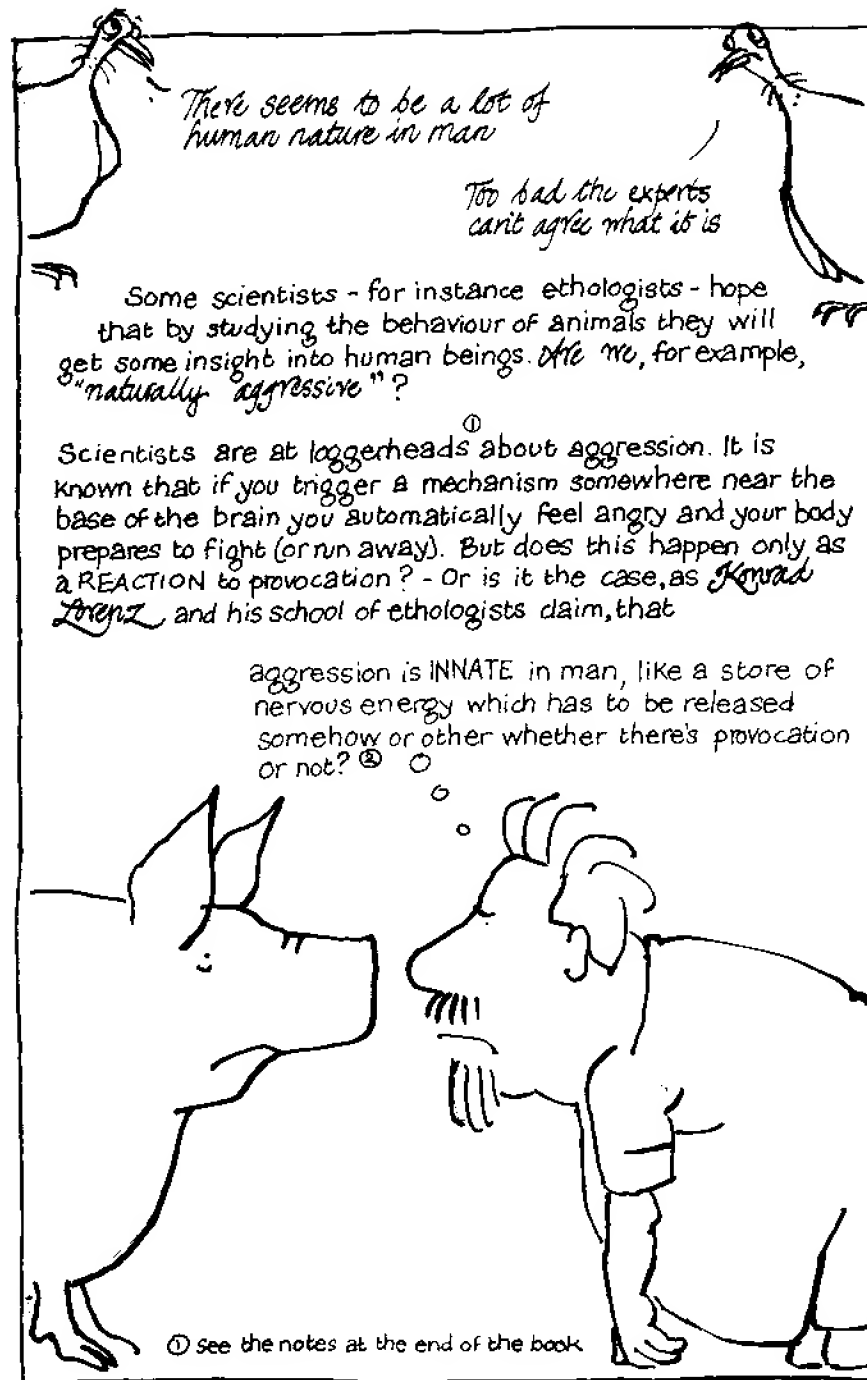
running through this first chapter is that:-

Animals may be "innately aggressive" but they hardly ever kill members of their own species.

So humans with their practices of mass murder are different. They have an element of choice.

Their wars seem to have their origin not so much in "human nature" as in 'GRIEFISM' and POWER.





Let's examine this sort of view because at first sight it seems about as pessimistic as you can get: *man is basically an animal and animals are basically aggressive.*

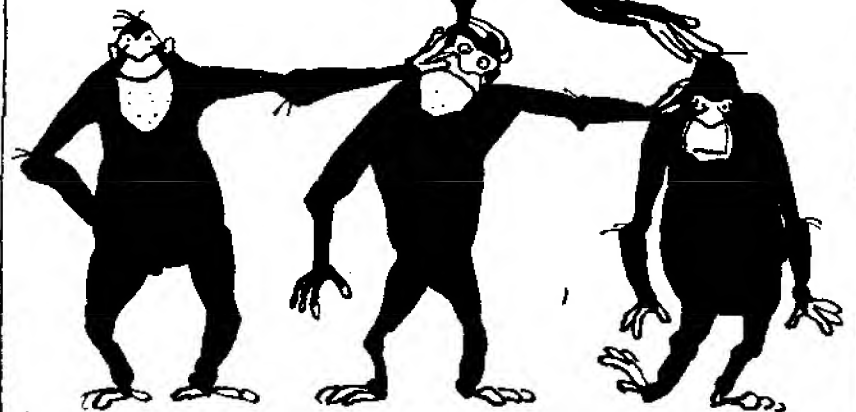


Many ethologists reckon that without aggression there would be no survival.

* aggression sets up a pecking order among animals so they can work together to get food.

* the most aggressive males get the best mates and so produce the toughest offspring to carry on the species.
(Lorenz says there's no love without aggression)

* aggression spaces out the population of a species and thus preserves its environment.



(Aggression is also fun it seems. Mice will learn to run through a maze if they know they will get a fight at the other end!) So far so bad...

Thou Shalt Not Kill

But nature isn't just a bloodbath because even if it's true that aggression is innate it's usually quite harmless.

a member of
your own
species

① There are natural controls on aggression:-

- * animals are naturally submissive as well as aggressive
- * there seems to be a natural and universal taboo against killing a member of your own species.

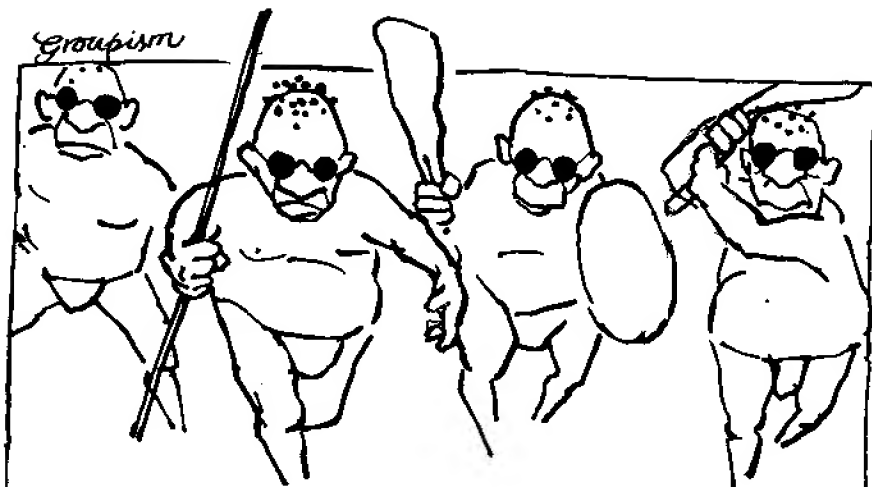
So in nature there is plenty of aggression but very little internecine killing (killing to eat is different)

- ~ piranhas don't bite each other with their razor blade teeth - they fence with their fin tails.
- ~ rattlesnakes don't poison rattlesnakes; they bash heads till one gives in or is out for the count.
- ~ hippos keep intruders off their territory with little heaps of excrement
- ~ robins just sing aggressively.



Beasts, in other words treat each other in a rather civilized way and don't help much to explain why humans are so brutal.

Groupism



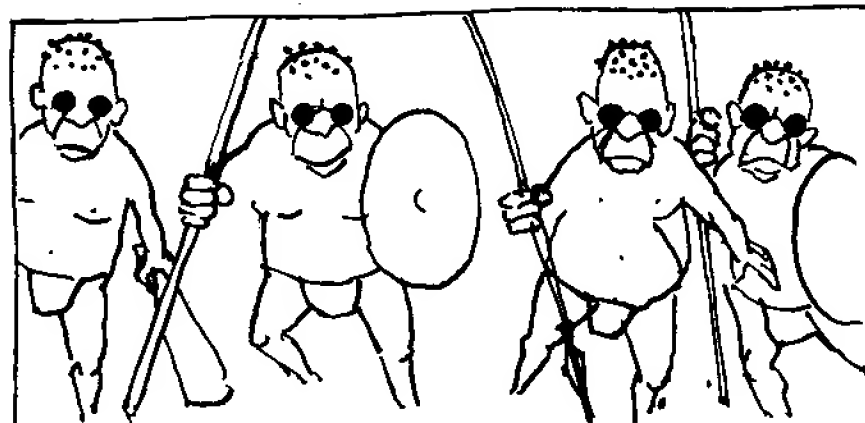
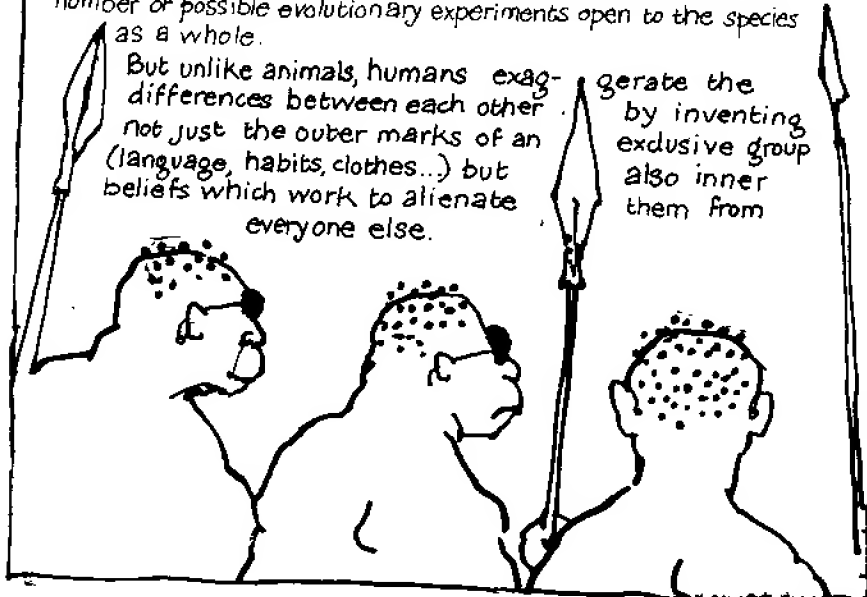
Humans are the only creatures who repeatedly ignore the natural taboo against murder and systematically kill each other in big numbers. Why?

A bloody war needs 2 ingredients: armies and weapons. Or to put it more generally: *Groups and power.*

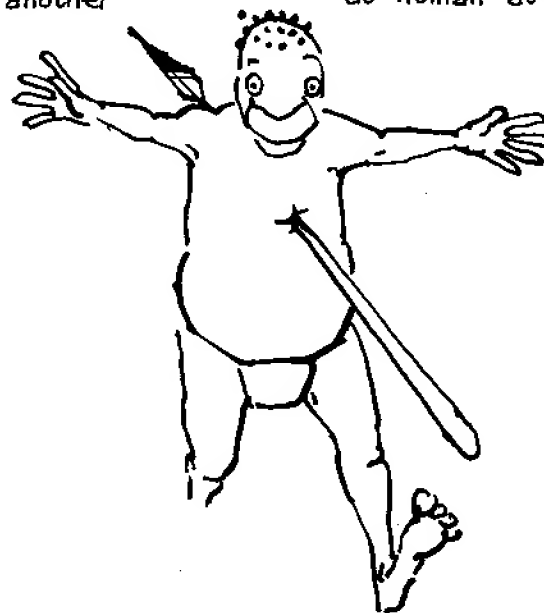
Humans are GROUPIES. Many animals are also 'groupies'. They need to work together to get food and they split into separate groups to avoid over-crowding and maybe also to increase the number of possible evolutionary experiments open to the species as a whole.

But unlike animals, humans exaggerate the differences between each other not just the outer marks of an (language, habits, clothes...) but beliefs which work to alienate everyone else.

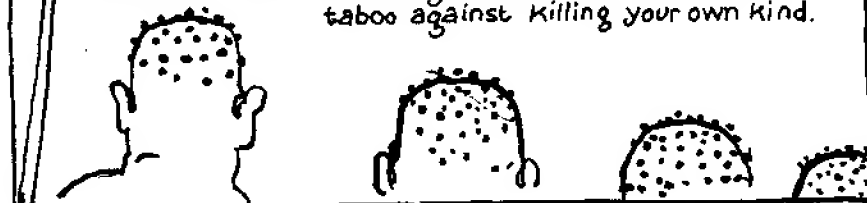
gerate the by inventing exclusive group also inner them from



One group of people can literally fail to recognize the member of another as human at all.



This could then be enough to override the natural taboo against killing your own kind.



Power

But you still can't kill a lot of people unless you've got the material POWER to do so.



I'm a non-combatant.

Primitive human tribes, like some tribal animals - ants are a good example - fight elaborate and aggressive wars against others of their own species but very rarely to the death. That seems to come only when people discover what we can glibly call *power*. They then invent lethal weapons and start to fight for food, foreign women, fun and finally philosophies.^①

A rule of the anthropologist's thumb is that the more materially developed the human society, the bloodier its wars.



A lot of "savages" - like some of the eskimo, bushman and aborigine peoples - have got along OK for thousands of years without slaughtering humans.

- ~ when they were recently discovered in the Philippine jungle, the Tasaday people didn't even appear to have any weapons
- ~ Mru tribesmen who quarrel, traditionally call in a medium to pronounce who would have won if there had been a fight, and then sensibly accept the verdict.

But most of these gentle societies have been wiped out by their more "civilized" neighbours. Those that survive are small, isolated cultures and have little material power.

So humans may be close biologically to animals but there are still important differences.^②

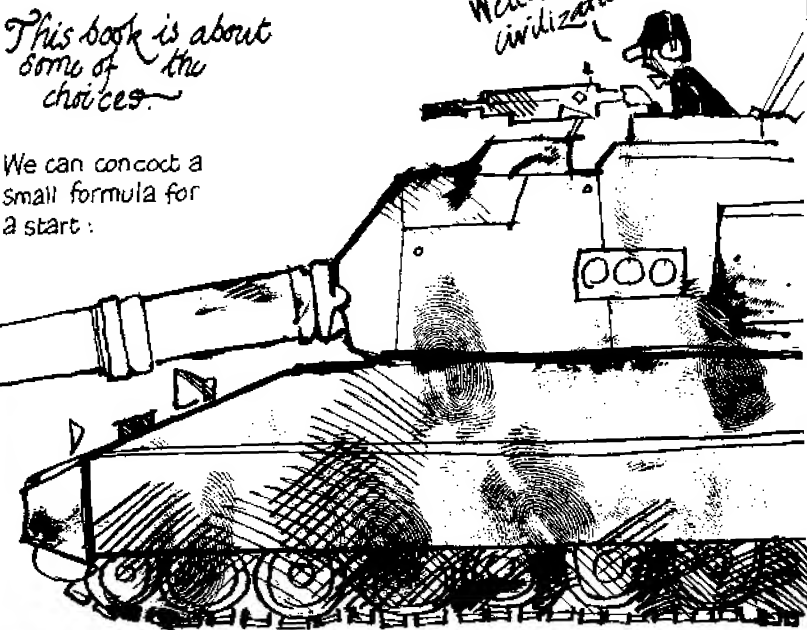
humans have:

- ~ a specially marked inclination to alienate themselves from other humans inside exclusive GROUPS.
- ~ an unusual ability to organize and accumulate POWER
- ~ and also some capacity for CHOICE which animals don't.

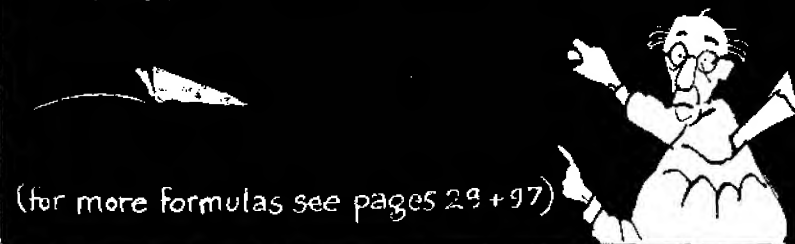
This book is about some of the choices.

We can concoct a small formula for a start:

Welcome to civilization



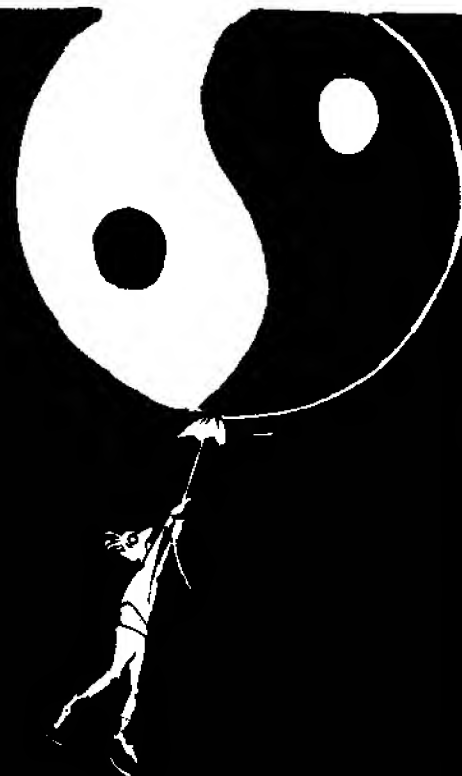
GROUPISM + POWER → WAR



(for more formulas see pages 29 + 97)

chapter 2

is about
religion

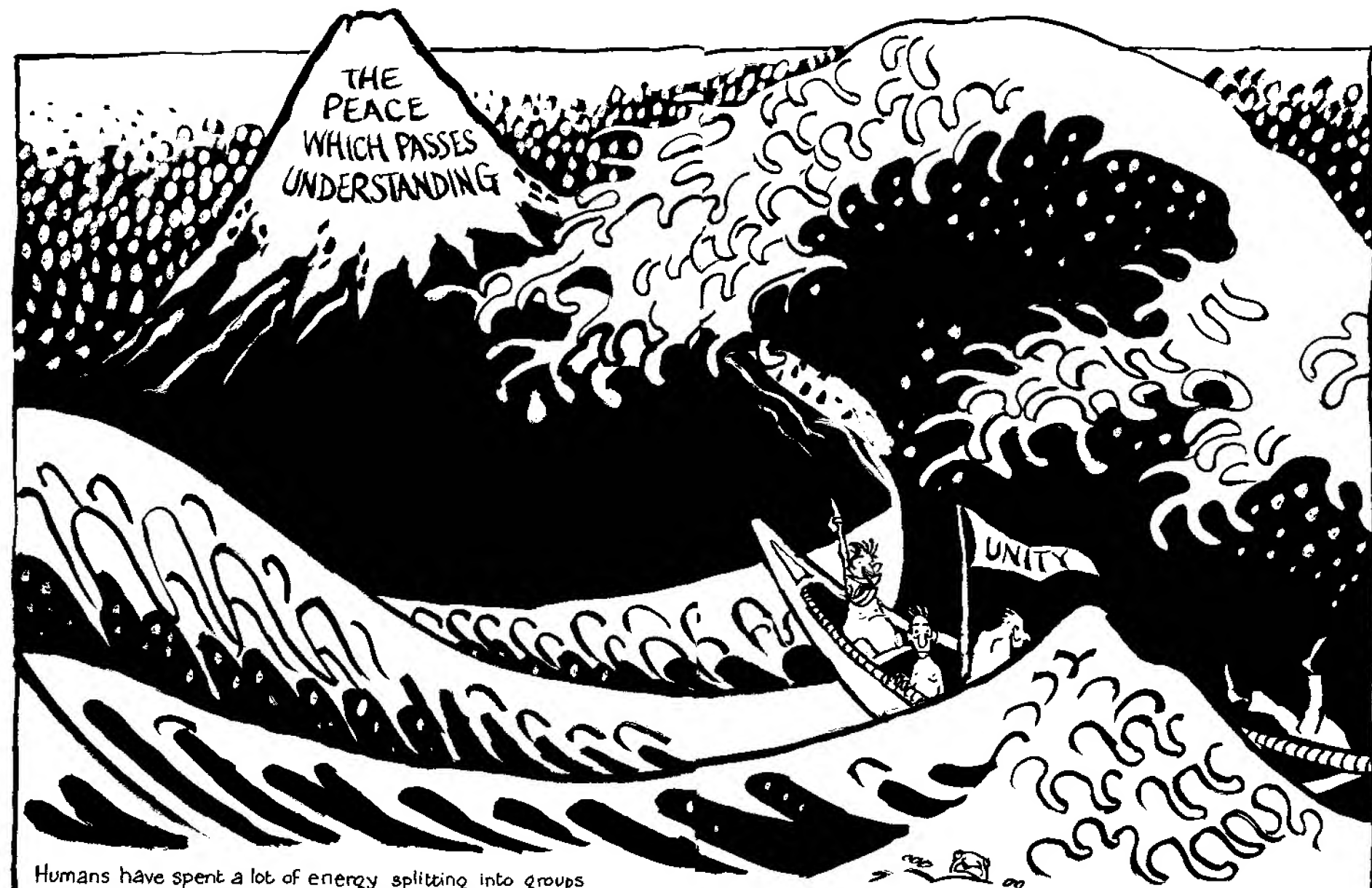


The argument:

Unity is the basis of peace.

Religious people have looked for unity in an idea of the All or the One God and have tried to reach it with sacrifice.

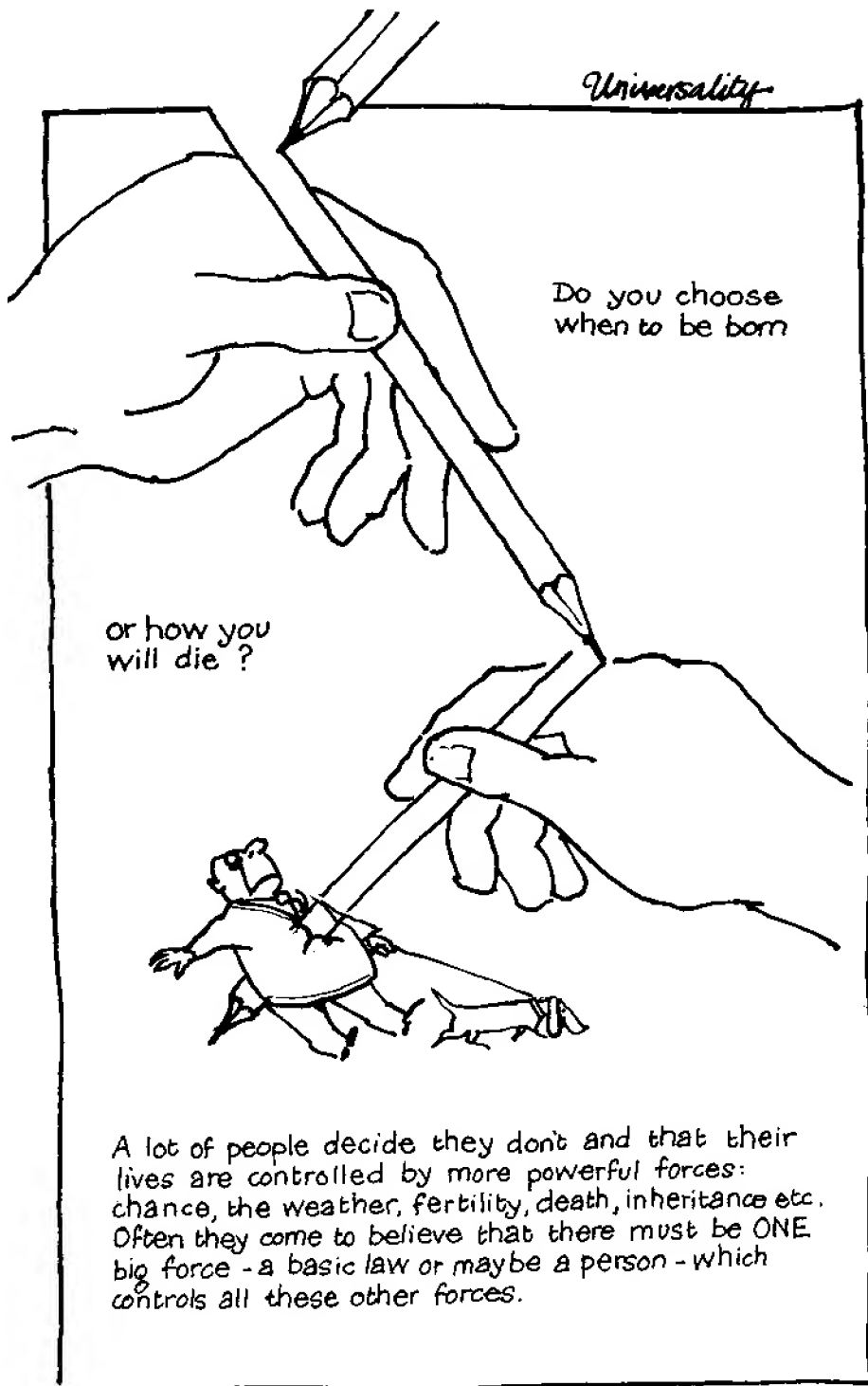
Buddhism and Christianity have acquired the biggest reputations as "peace religions."



Humans have spent a lot of energy splitting into groups and killing each other. But they have also looked for some kind of UNITY among themselves & in everything.

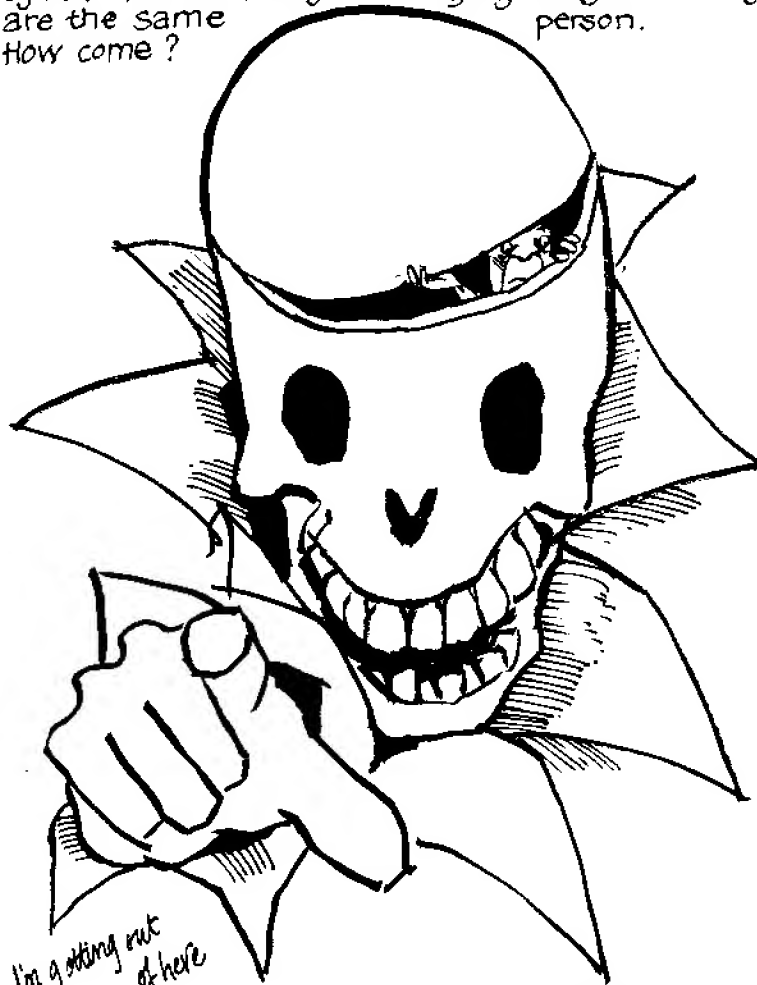
Unity is essential to peace because there can only be conflict where there is division.

There are 2 main religious ways of explaining this unity:- if you are a Middle Eastern prophet you tend to declare that this world is ruled by ONE God, if you're an Indian sage you say that All is ONE.®



Universality

Where are you now? In your head? Then how do you see these words? On the page? In your eyes? You are always changing but you think you are the same person. How come?



I'm getting out of here



These words and pictures may mean something. They are different and separate from each other. But now you can realize that they are all really just bits of black ink on white paper.

Philosophers from all over the world - but particularly from India - have said that if you concentrate hard enough you realize that although you think you are separate and different from everything in the world this is a shallow perception.

There is an aspect of the world which is always changing and different but basically it is all *One* - beyond time, everywhere, infinite.

To see this greater truth, they say, you must stop being hypnotized by illusory differences.



If you do, this is another way unity - **UNIVERSALITY** - can overcome division - **GROUPISM**

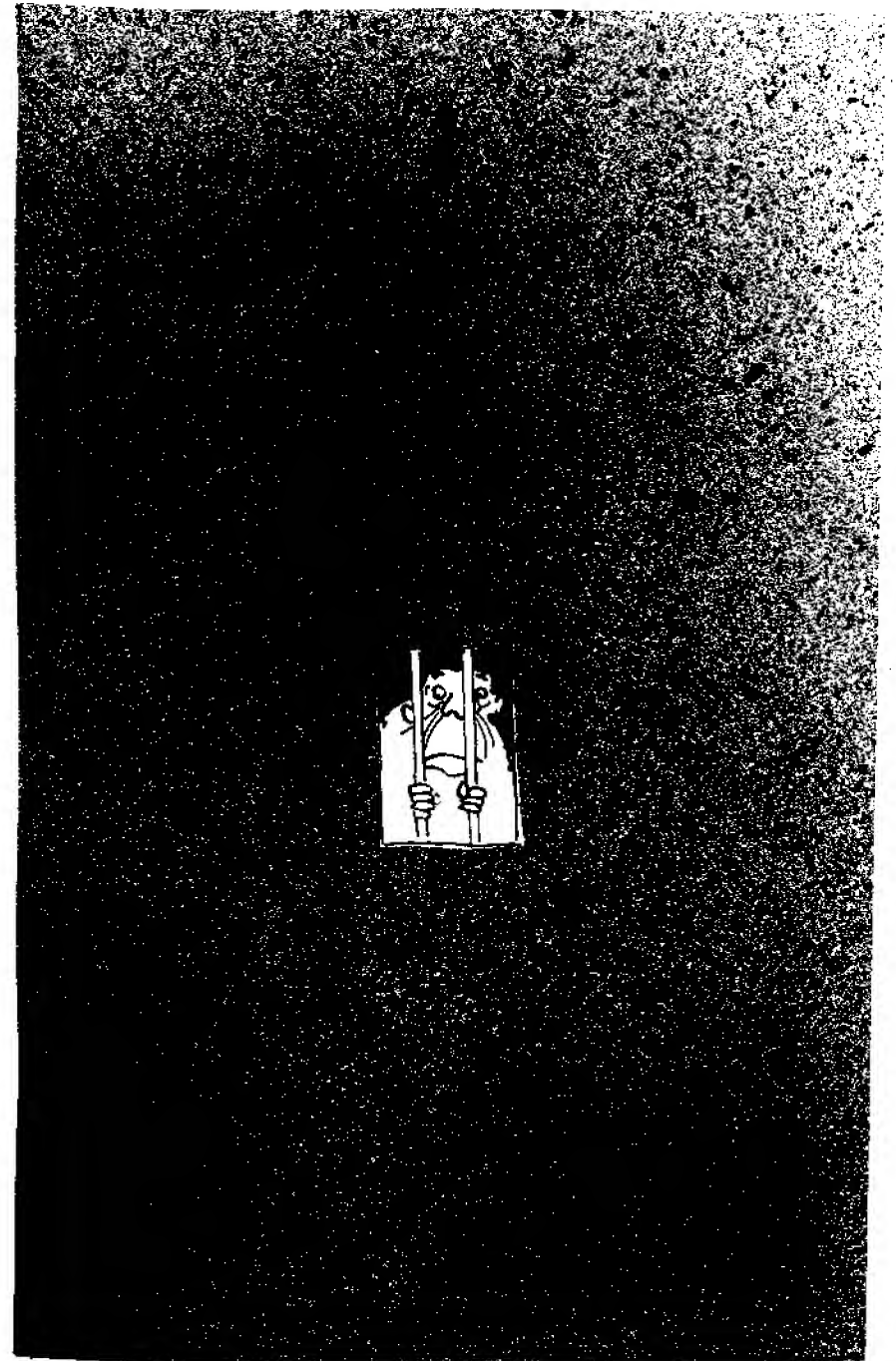
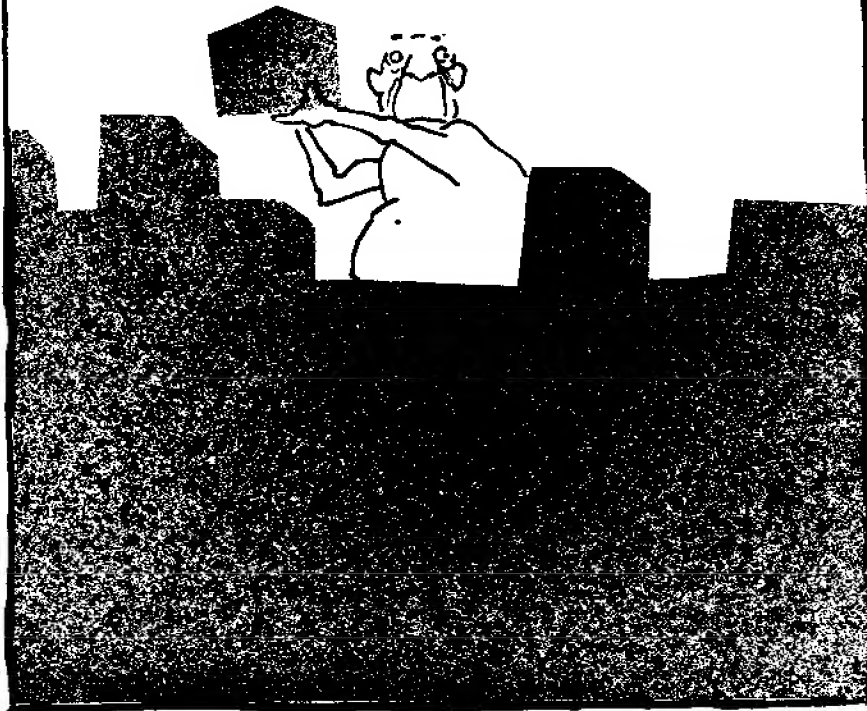
The Power Paradox

Something - call it *ego* - insists I'm separate from the rest of the world. My body takes little notice - it's made of the same stuff as the world and always will be (even if a little rearranged). But *ego* is afraid it will disappear because I must die.

Ego is scared - so it grabs things to make itself strong: power, pleasure, money, fame...

According to the sages, this is futile and a bit comic. The ego will always be scared because fear comes only from separation (if all is One there is nothing Else to be scared of) And what is making the separation? Ego! The stronger it gets, the more cut off, the more insecure. - because death is always waiting for it.

The pursuit of power leads to death...



Sacrifice



There can be no real peace with ego, because by its nature ego is constantly opposing itself to everything else.

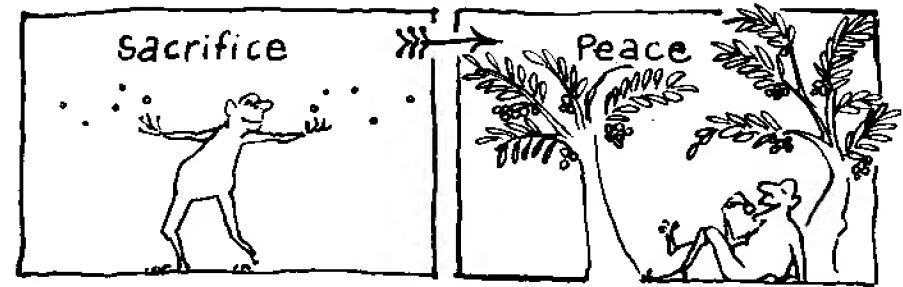
No amount of politics will change this fact, say the Indian philosophers. The world as you normally see it will never be at peace because as you normally see it the world is nothing but diversity and change.



You will only find real peace when you realize there's a greater unity.



To do that you must be prepared to surrender ego.
How?
There's an old technique called *Sacrifice*



Sacrifice comes in 2 parts:
letting go ('detachment')
& giving ('love' if you like)

People try to become part of something bigger than themselves by sacrificing to it. They may sacrifice their energies to their tribe or a cause and discover they are brave and strong. But they are still not quite safe because their group may be beaten (egoism has been stretched to encompass the tribe but it hasn't been completely snapped.)

It's only when you sacrifice yourself to something VAST that can't be beaten - God or the All - that ego loses its grip on you, you lose your separation and there is peace. That's the theory.

Some version of these ideas is present in most religions but they were most popularized by a Nepalese princeling (called the Buddha) and a young Palestinian carpenter (called Jesus) who are said to have founded world religions of peace.

So we can contrive another formula to add to the first (which went: egoism (division) + power → war)

UNIVERSALITY (unity) + SACRIFICE → PEACE

(for more formulas see pages 17 & 97)





Life in the household of a princeling in northern India about two-and-a-half-thousand years ago could be cushy and the young *Siddhartha Gautama*, who is better known as

BUDDHA

was myopically happy (so the story goes) till he saw an old man, an ascetic, a cripple and a corpse and he realized the world wasn't all hunkidory.①

He promptly left the palace and set off to find the answer to



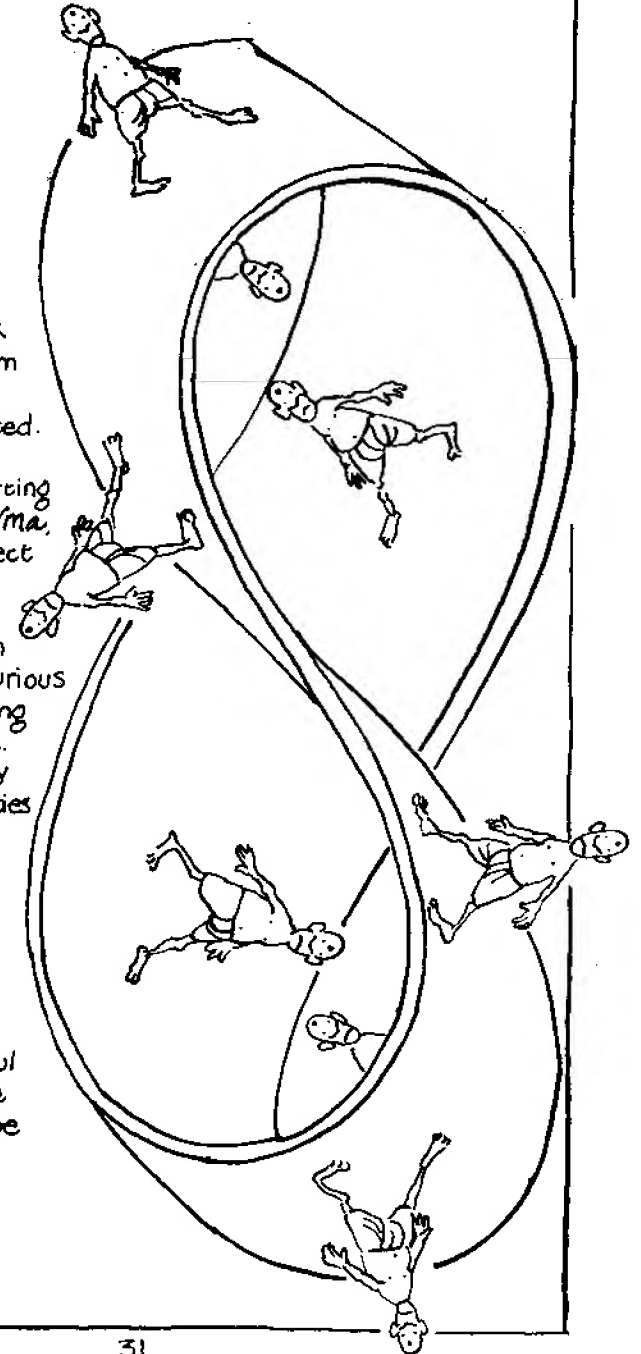
from some yogis living in the forest. They would probably have told him the old Hindu view of the world :-

* You can't die because you keep getting reborn in different bodies. After a while this can get to be a real drag.

* You're deluding yourself if you think you are separate from the rest of the world. Everything is connected. So you can't hurt anything without hurting yourself - that's *Karma*, the law of cause & effect

* To get out of this tedious cycle of birth and rebirth is a labourious job probably stretching over many lifetimes. It involves scrupulously performing all the duties set for each position in society into which you're born.

Your ultimate hope is to be in a position where you can realize that your soul is identical with the Universal Soul and be liberated.



Buddha realized that this was a rather cumbersome plan for salvation. So he ate a good bowl of rice and sat under a tree to await enlightenment there and then.

The consequence was he came up with what is advertized as a do-it-yourself salvation kit, suitable for just one lifetime and for people from any caste. It includes

4 Noble Truths:

- ① The world is always changing & there is always suffering in it.
- ② People suffer pain only because they can't accept this fact of impermanence and instead hide away in the illusion of ego and in desires which can never really be satisfied. They cling to life.

③ Suffering is a disease which can be cured by rooting out these desires and with them ego-centrism.

④ To be cured you must follow a tough but not impossible discipline:

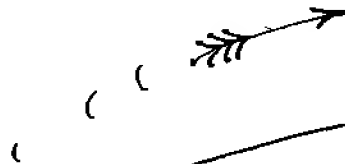
The Eightfold Path:-

1. Right understanding
eg. See clearly what the problem is.
2. Right thought
decide that you really want to be cured.
3. Right speech
Speak honestly and kindly.
4. Right action *(see next page)
act so as to aim at being cured.
5. Right vocation
do a job which doesn't conflict with your goals
6. Right effort
follow the therapy at a pace you can maintain
7. Right mindfulness
remain constantly alert.
8. Right concentration
earn deep meditation

* Right action (see previous page) involves practising

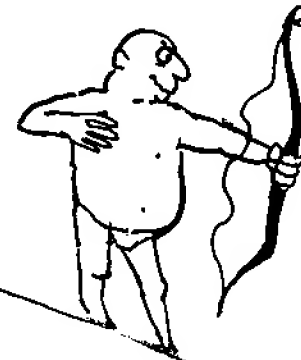
Ahimsa - non-violence, harmlessness.

This is more than the commandment Thou Shalt Not Kill. It means something like not even wanting to harm other creatures in any way at all.



The reasons for practising *Ahimsa* turn out to be severely practical:

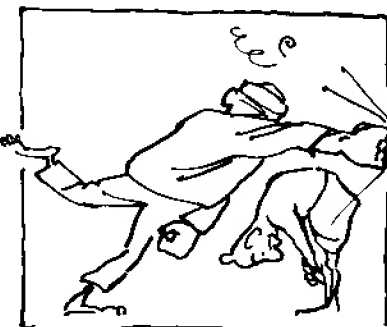
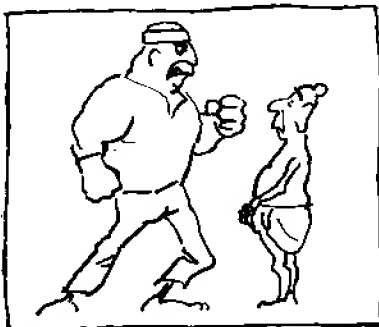
1. for a start violence is nearly always futile because *the real conflict is going on inside you, not outside.* There can't be life without death; good without bad. If you can't face the fact of this natural balance you just make yourself unhappy.
"Not by anger are anger's in this world calmed," said Buddha.
2. because of *karma* (see page 31), practising violence will tend to have a bad effect on yourself.



Buddhism

The world just is the way it is, says Indian religion. If it seems a mess to you, that's your fault not the world's. Change your viewpoint by getting rid of your own selfish desires. No one else can do that for you. So politics is - spiritually speaking - a red-herring. Basic Buddhism wasn't hot on it.

"Wander lonely as the rhinoceros," was Buddha's advice.
 "One path leads to worldly gains; quite another leads to Nirvana (spiritual release)"

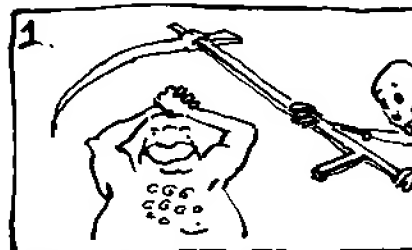


Buddhism tends to provide PERSONAL rather than POLITICAL solutions to violence:

Let one conquer wrath by meekness
 Let one conquer wrong by goodness
 Let one conquer the mean man by a gift,
 and a liar by the truth.

To overcome hate, cultivate metta - loving kindness. Use meditation: concentrate on beaming out love to yourself, then a close friend, an acquaintance, an enemy and finally all living things.

To overcome lingering resentment, follow these steps :-



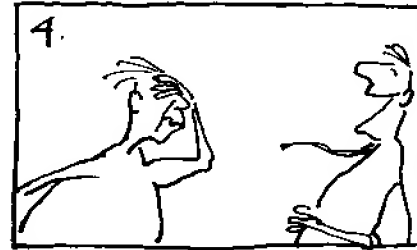
1. think about the doctrine: "hatred never ceases by hatred in this world" & remember everyone will die anyway



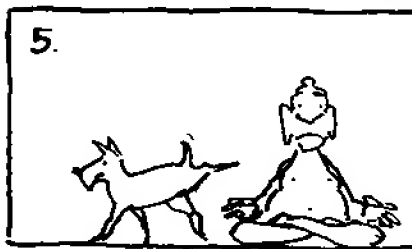
2. Concentrate on the good qualities of the person who's hurt you.



3. remember the injury hasn't hurt the inner self - but resentment will.



4. "If you spit in the wind, the spittle soils your own face (Buddha)"



5. recollect the qualities of self-control shown by the Buddha himself.



6. "Monks, it is not easy to find a being who has not previously seen your mother, your father, your brother..."



7. ask yourself: what am I angry with - the hairs of this head? the demons which compose the hairs?...



8. make a constructive act - eg give something to the offender.



The first great vow runs thus: / renounce all killing of living beings whether subtle or gross...

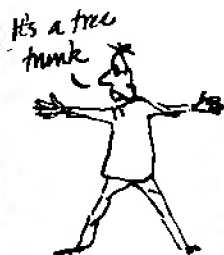
Mahavira, another Hindu heretic wandering around India at the same time as Buddha turned out to be the founder of the Jain religion.

Ahimsa - non violence - was a very important bit in Mahavira's salvation manifesto because, as he saw it, the main problem is how to extricate the soul (jiva) from matter (ajiva). All action tends to tangle them together, but violence knots and bonds them indissolubly.

All souls - even the souls of mosquitoes - are equal to your own and so should be treated with the same delicacy and compassion.

Besides, the main purpose in life is the search for Truth. As the famous parable of the blind men and the elephant teaches, everyone will see Truth from a different angle so it's crazy to kill someone because you disagree about something.

Jains have probably taken non-violence to more extraordinary extremes than anyone. The really strict ones go naked except for a veil over their mouths to stop them accidentally swallowing insects. They won't use fire to cook with for fear of frazzled flies.



They renounce not just hunting but agriculture too. (There has also been a line of ferocious warrior Jains and the Jain community now has a reputation for producing worldly-wise bankers and businessmen)

Getting salvation according to most Indian sages is a specialized enterprise, extremely difficult unless you're a full time professional. Jainism did, however, produce a watered-down nonviolence ethic for householders:

- ~ don't kill innocent moving animals if you can help it.
- ~ don't commit suicide or abortion
- ~ don't consider anyone untouchable or behave cruelly to anyone
- ~ don't get involved in violent activities or organizations.

(in practice, they might be allowed to take part in a defensive war but probably not to squat a mosquito)



I have resolved to renounce even austerity!

It's ineffable

It's a hose



The Middle East was in crisis. An expansionist, European-based power had occupied Palestine by force & was having trouble suppressing the native population when

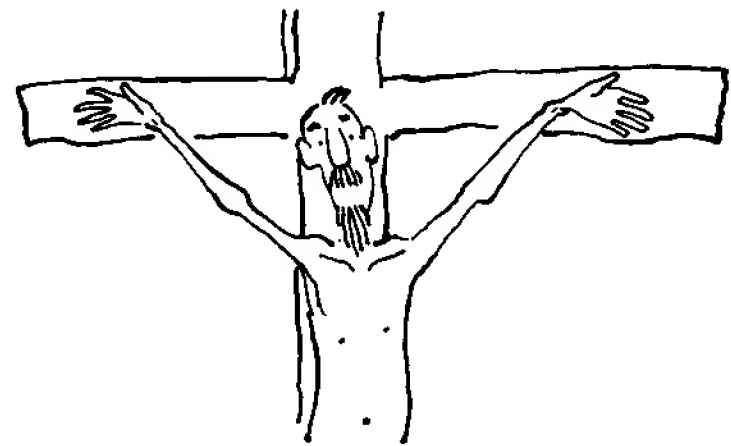
JESUS

is said to have opted out of the family business in Nazareth and set up as an itinerant preacher and faith-healer.

As a boy he might have watched as 2,000 of his countrymen were tortured to death on crosses near his home town after the failure of a rebellion against the hated Romans.^① 20 years on, Galilee was still rife with terrorism and unrest & in Jerusalem big non-violent demos had forced the hard-line new Roman governor, Pontius Pilate to remove his war banners from the Jewish holy places.



Jesus' career took off spectacularly. He was drawing very big crowds and some people tried to declare him king of the Jews. He made stinging attacks on the Establishment.^①



But somehow his early political promise fizzled out. He got arrested on a trumped up charge and was executed by the military government only two or three years after his public debut. (This didn't stop him being followed and worshipped as the Son of God by billions of people for thousands of years)

What's your line on the Roman occupation, Jesus?
Should we pay taxes to the imperialist war machine?

Give back to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to
God the things that are God's.

Among your disciples there is at least one member of
the underground resistance but there is also a Quisling.
I don't get it - Whose side are you on? - Do you
expect us to co-operate in doing forced labour?

If anyone forces you to go one mile, go two.

Excuse me but are you the Messiah, the Liberator or
not? Can the people look to you to root out the
imperialists and set up a new political society in this holy land?



My kingship doesn't belong to this world.

So where is it?

The kingdom of God is within you. It's like yeast in flour.

Very poetic. But what exactly is your manifesto?

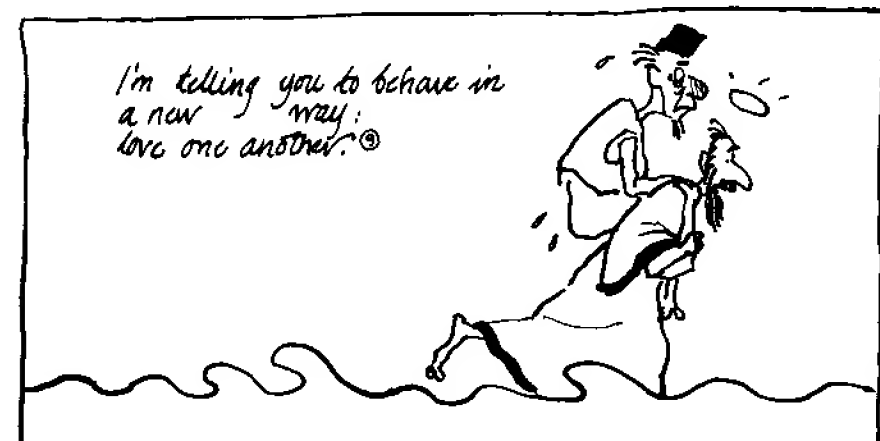
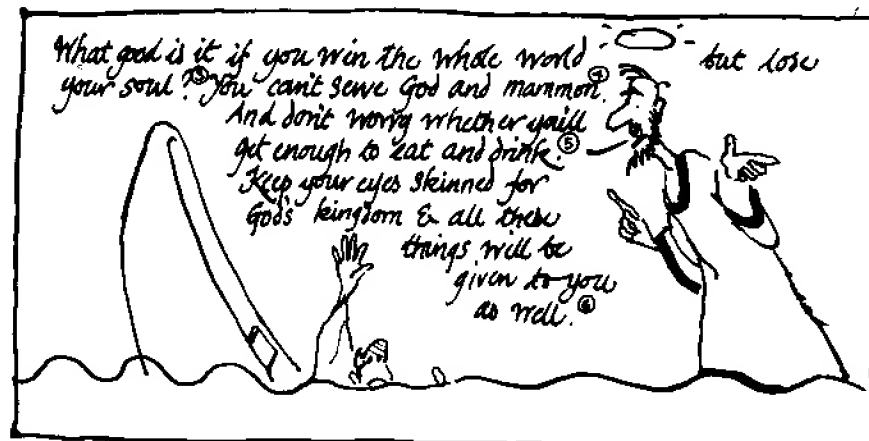
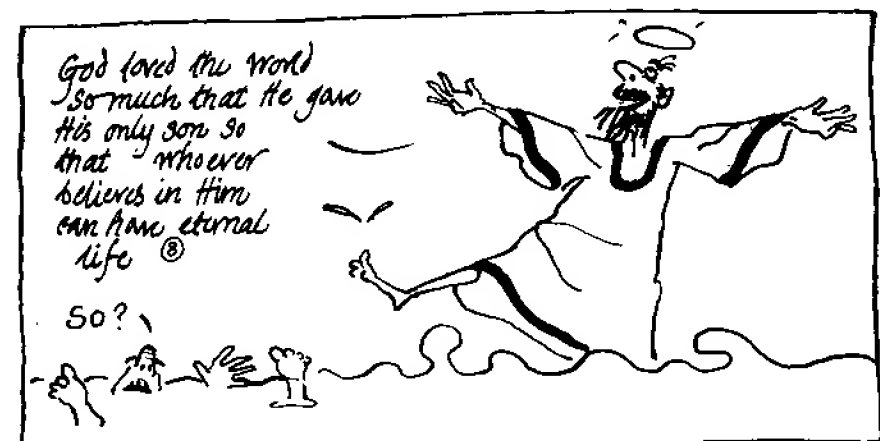
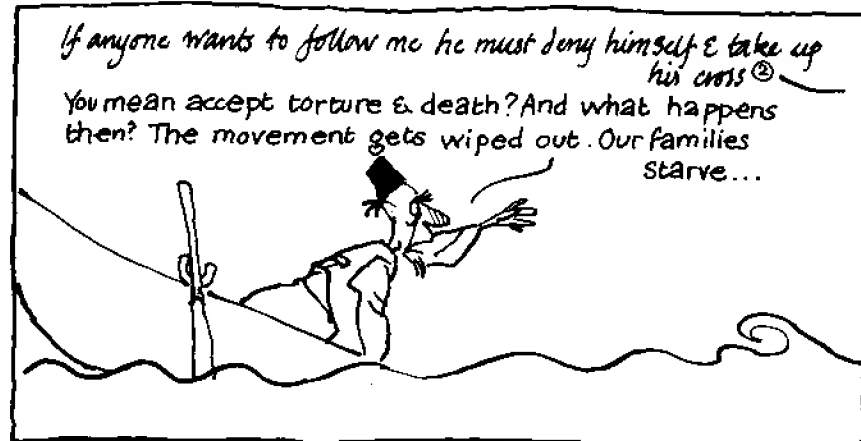
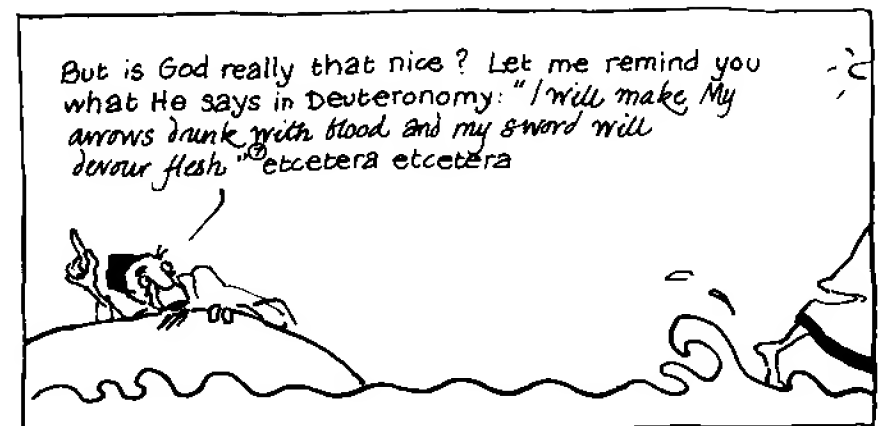
Love your enemies and pray for those who oppress you.

Christ! Don't you see what they're doing to us?

You're really lucky if you get persecuted for the sake
of truth because you will get your reward in heaven.



Jesus

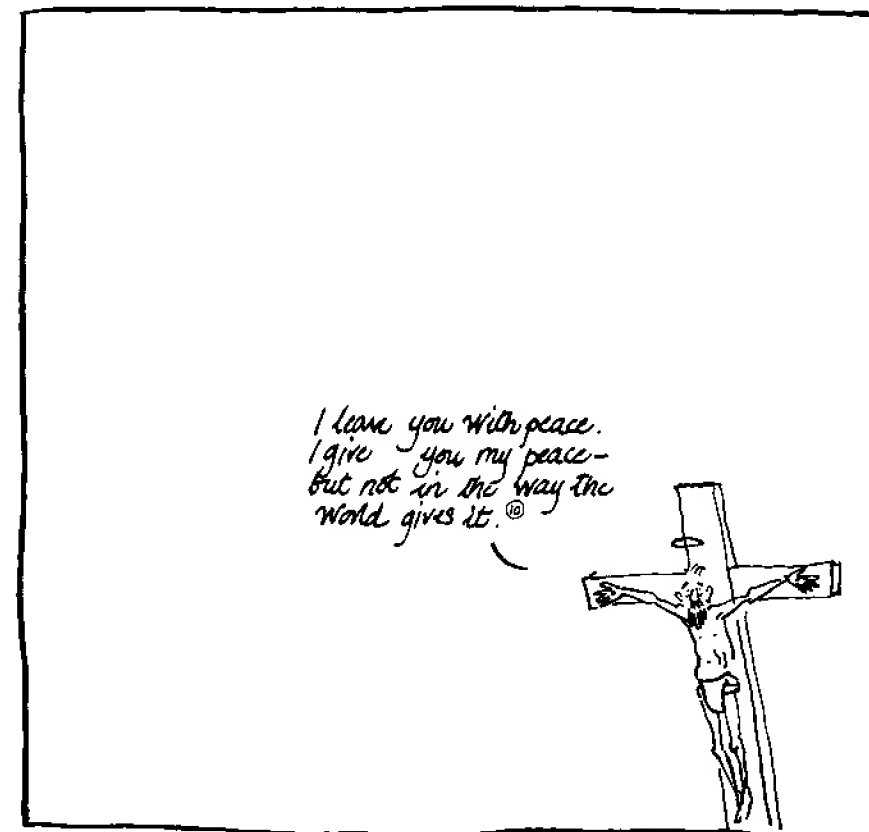


Are you making yourself out to be a pacifist Jesus? Then how come that when the authorities came to arrest you one of your mates lashed out with a sword? ①
You yourself are reported by Luke to have said: *He who doesn't have a sword should sell his cloak and buy one* ②



It's also reported that you co-operated with a Roman army officer. ③ Were you being non-violent when you used a whip to drive stall holders out of the temple? ④
You said: *I came not to bring peace but a sword*. ⑤ Is this just a prediction or what? It's all just a bit confusing.

Whoever lives by the sword will die by the sword. The peacemakers are very lucky, because they will be called sons of God. ⑥



chapter 3

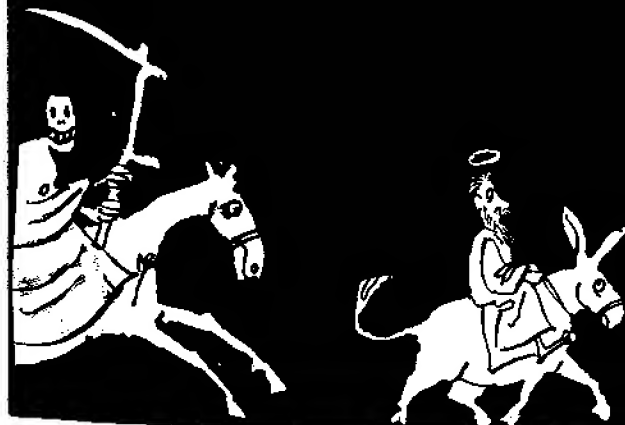
is about
religious politics

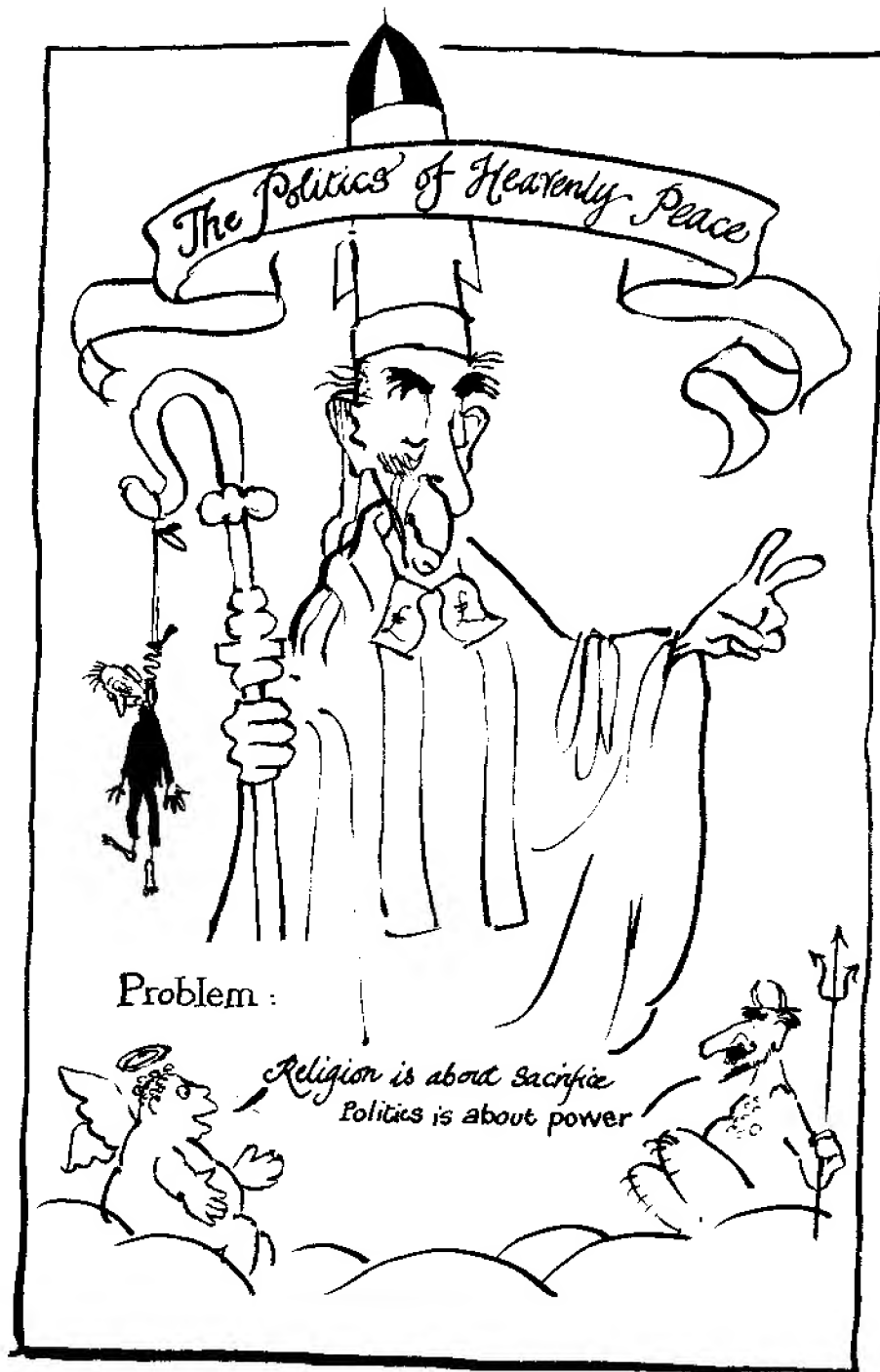
The argument:

How do the religious ideals of peace work out in politics?

Absolute pacifists have almost always been in tiny minorities shunning politics. More usually politicians and religious specialists respect each others' differing vocations and agree rules to limit warfare, not ban it.

Sometimes, though, religion dominates the state - or vice versa - and you can then get crusades or total war.





further problem: sacrifice sometimes brings power.

Both Buddhism and Christianity began as tiny heretical sects, renounced material power & had power thrust on them when they were launched as world religions by the rulers of vast empires: Ashoka of India (3rd century BC) and the Roman Emperor Constantine (3rd century AD)

and the meek shall inherit the earth - if that's o.k. with the rest of you?

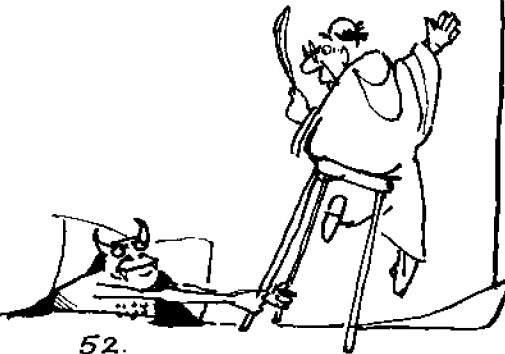


There are 3 basic ways of solving this conundrum. They first appeared in Christendom in roughly this order:
Pacifism
Vocation
Crusade ©

PACIFISM

The main principles behind Christian pacifism seem to be :-

1. Power is unimportant.
 2. Jesus' teachings are for real life and not just for religious freaks.
 3. You can't really love someone if you're disembowelling him.
- ~ A principle which became important later (e.g. to the Jehovah's Witnesses) is that Armageddon is coming anyway. So God's chosen people are expected to fight for Christ then but not before.
- ~ The argument about the "sacredness of life" has not in itself been an important principle for most Christian pacifists. But some small sects have a taboo against shedding blood. ①



The early Christians kept slaves and private property, but Christian soldiers are unheard of till about 170 AD.

"Shall the son of peace for whom it will be unfitting even to go to a law court be engaged in battle?" - said the theologian Tertullian (about 200 AD)

In 295 a young conscript called Maximilianus said: ➔

I cannot serve as a soldier.
I cannot do evil. I am a Christian



As a result his head was chopped off.

Christianity was made the official religion of the Roman Empire in 381 AD (but there were masses of Christians in the army even before then) and by the end of that century you had to be a Christian to be in the army!

Pacifism was wiped out in Christendom for about 1000 years by official Christianity and the Barbarian invasions. About the only conscientious objectors were the clergy (who conscientiously told everyone else to fight.)



What did you
pick up on the
crusades?
Carpets, Arabic, V.D.?

pacifism!



Pacifism returned to Christendom thanks not so much to Christian doctrine as to a Zoroastrian belief that the world is evil, which a heretical sect called the Cathars picked up in the Middle East during the Crusades. They were against sex, eggs, cheese and violence and were massacred by the Pope in the 13th Century.^①



But some of their pacifist ideas were taken up by other dissenting sects - like the Albigenses, the Waldensians, the Lollards and the Hussites - who were beginning to read the bible for themselves and rebel against the decadent papacy at the end of the Middle Ages.



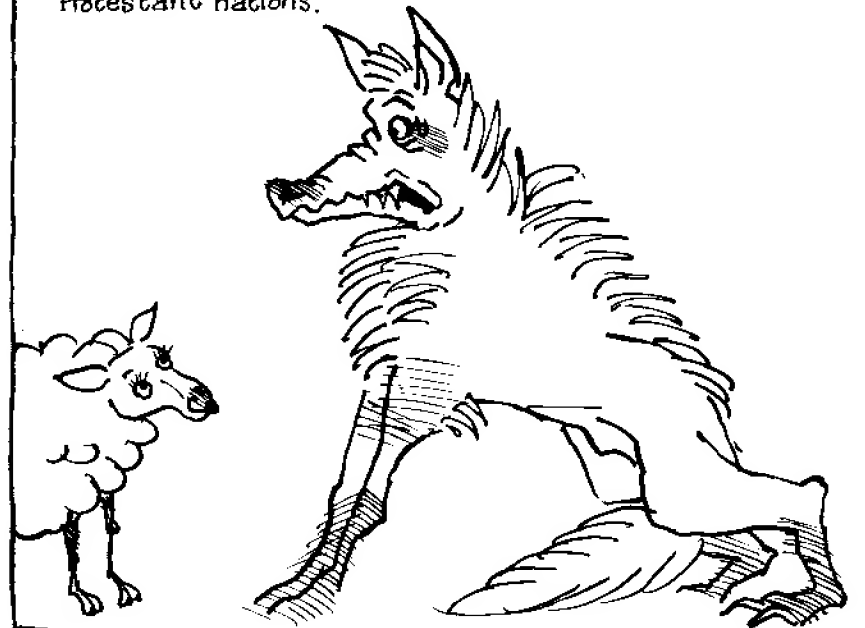
"There can be no power
without cruelty."

The temporal order of
force and Christ's way of
love are far removed
from each other."

said Petr Chelcicky
leader of a 15th
century Hussite sect in Bohemia



By the start of the 16th Century large parts of Europe were being dislodged from the rotting papal empire and taken over by rebel Protestants. Out of this violent upheaval independent sects sprang up with the idea of trying to live like primitive Christians in accordance with the Sermon on the Mount. This was dangerously subversive because what they were attacking as corrupt was not just the papacy but all state power - including that of the new Protestant nations.



Pacifism

The most spectacular outbreak of pacifism grew out of opposition in the 1520s to the Zurich government of the Protestant rebel, *Zwingli*. The pacifist Anabaptists accused him of making too many compromises with secular power.

"True Christian believers are sheep among wolves, sheep for the slaughter. They must be baptized in anguish and affliction, tribulation, persecution and death."



A surprising number of people decided to be true Christian believers. Thousands of Anabaptists were drowned and incinerated for their pains. The survivors developed a very gloomy view of society and governments, and tried to have as little to do with them as possible.

This could be tricky. A bunch of Anabaptist peasants who had been given work by the Count of Lichtenstein found they had to quit when he magnanimously promised to protect them against their enemies.



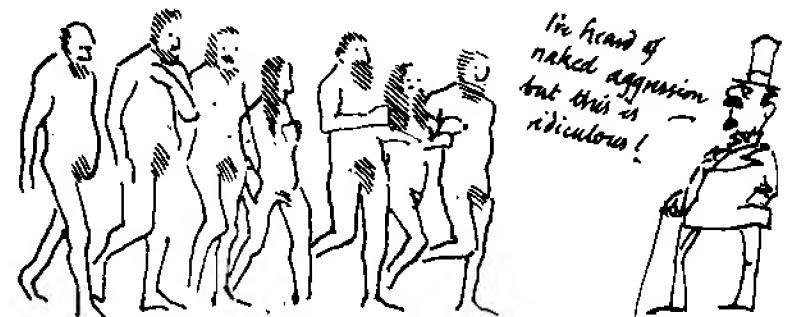
Getting impatient for the end of the world, some Anabaptists, led by a tailor called *John of Leiden*, seized control of the city of Münster in 1534. They tried to turn it into the New Jerusalem, found themselves besieged by the ousted Catholic bishop, took up polygamy, beheaded wayward brethren and gossipers and were over-run after an orgy of sex and killing. It didn't do the Anabaptist reputation much good.

But the purer pacifist strain of Anabaptism survived in off-shoot sects like the Mennonites and the Hutterites. Many of their members later fled to Russia and then North America.



One indirect descendant of the Anabaptist tradition was the famous novelist **Leo Tolstoy**, who became in his bad-tempered old age an impassioned anarchist & pacifist.

In the 1870s he championed the cause of the **Dukhobors**, a Russian sect (they later moved to Canada) who witnessed to their pacifism by going nude and burning down their homes.



"Government is violence; Christianity is meekness, non-resistance, love. And therefore government cannot be Christian and a man who wishes to be a Christian must not serve government" (e.g. by using law courts, paying tax, or co-operating with the Police)

Tolstoy said it would be better to be killed by a madman than deprive him of his liberty. He argued that the New Testament morality of love must also be applied to public affairs. By what right, he demanded to know, do some people (e.g. state officials) arrogate to themselves alone the right to inflict violence? ①



Tolstoy failed to bring about the collapse of the hated Tsarist state but he was an important influence on the Anarchist movement (if there is such a thing) and on Mohandas Gandhi (see on)

Pacifism

A new non-anarchist type of pacifism was invented in England by a peasant sect called the *Quakers* (later they became respectable - the Establishment radicals). They first appeared on the left wing of Oliver Cromwell's blood-stained rebellion against King Charles I, but they turned to pacifism when their political hopes for the New Jerusalem were disillusioned in the late 1650s.

The Quakers' founder was *George Fox*, whose advice was to



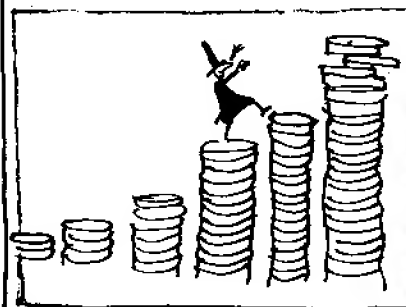
Fox boasted that he "lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars," and warned that "those who run into the use of carnal weapons, wrestling with flesh and blood, throw away the spiritual weapons."

Still, most Quakers accepted the need in practice for an armed government. There have been Quakers in the British Parliament and even the cabinet.



When he founded the colony of Pennsylvania in America in 1681, the Quaker *William Penn* agreed to an unarmed, unsworn treaty with the (fortunately quite peaceful) Indians.

The colony was in fact controlled by the rather belligerent British governor and Anglican settlers and was never wholly pacifist, but relations with the Indians remained exceptionally friendly. The Quakers who dominated Assembly managed to fudge the issue of voting for war subsidies by pinning the responsibility on the Crown - up to 1756 when they all resigned.



After the initial fierce persecution in England wore off, Quakers developed a more optimistic view of politics. They began to see war not just as wicked but WASTEFUL and became the founders of the modern political peace movements that began in the early 19th century.

VOCATION

When a hardline religious sect - like early Buddhism or Christianity - finds itself responsible not just for its own spiritual stormtroopers but everyone in society, it tends to fall back on a system of plural ethics - or *Vocations*.



sudra



vaisya

In India it was simply accepted that everyone won't obey the same moral rules. It takes many lifetimes to win spiritual release from this bloody world and so people are naturally at different stages of spiritual development.

Different behaviour is appropriate to different stages. For a start there are 4 basic castes each with its own vocation: sudra : *untouchable labourers*

vaisya : *craftsmen, traders & farmers*

kshatriya : *warriors & rulers*

brahman : *priests*

Spiritual release is not the only legitimate goal of human life & there are different ways of going about this anyway. What is important in traditional Indian religion is that if you happen to be born a kshatriya you should be a competent warrior, not ape the brahmans & behave like a pacifist.



kshatriya

brahman

If there is a single ethic in Indian religion, it is to perform your own (not someone else's) vocation with detachment. - ie do it for its own sake, not for the rewards it might bring you.

This is what Krishna - God Incarnate - tells Arjuna, a great warrior king who loses his appetite for war when he finds himself ranged against hordes of his own relatives and friends. (This is related in the "Bhagavad Gita", which many people think is more about a spiritual than an actual battle.)

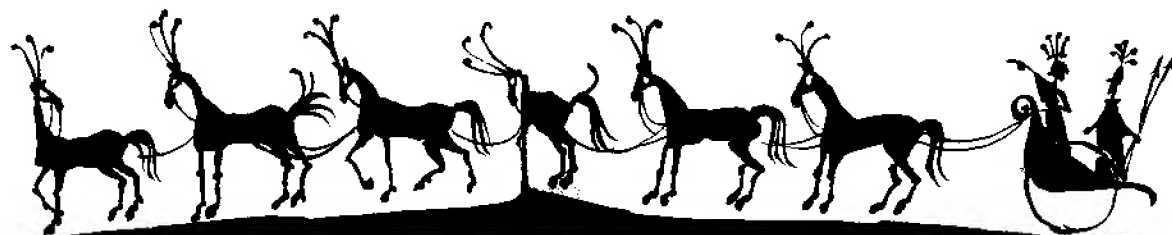
*Set your heart on your work
but never on its reward.
Don't work for a reward
but never cease to do your work*

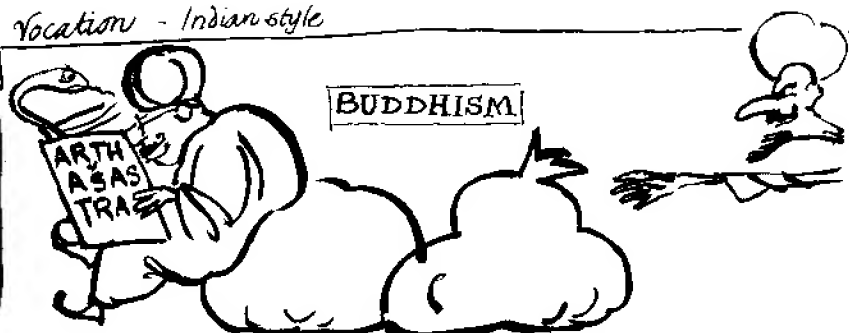
Krishna then produces arguments to persuade Arjuna to kill even though he's sick of blood and booty:

*Think of your duty and don't waver. There's no greater good for a warrior than to fight in a righteous war...
Prepare for war with peace in your soul. Be in peace in pleasure and pain, in gain and loss, in victory or defeat. In this peace there is no sin.*

*Weapons cannot hurt the Spirit and fire can never burn him...
The Spirit that is in all beings is immortal in them all; stop being sorry for the death of what can't die.*

*Even if you don't fight all the warriors facing you will die. Through the fate of their Karma I have doomed them to die...
Be merely the means of my work*





The sacred handbook for Indian rulers - the *Arthashastra* (written maybe about 300 BC) says that they should use unscrupulous means to maintain power and build up wealth (but not engage in aggressive empire building). Some social order is necessary to allow anyone to specialize in spirituality.

"Kings are like venomous serpents. You should not make them angry. It is better not to come into contact with them."

said Buddha



Buddhism began as the tough spiritual technique of a monkish elite, with little to say about the ordering of society as a whole.

But it was taken up and refitted by *Ashoka* as the ideology for a paternalistic welfare state. He set up a peaceful, but not a pacifist (he kept an army) despotism.

In some parts of the Buddhist world - particularly Tibet - rulers were later thought to be spiritual masters as well. But in general there was a compromise between state & religion with monks & rulers allowed to interfere only a bit with each others' vocations.

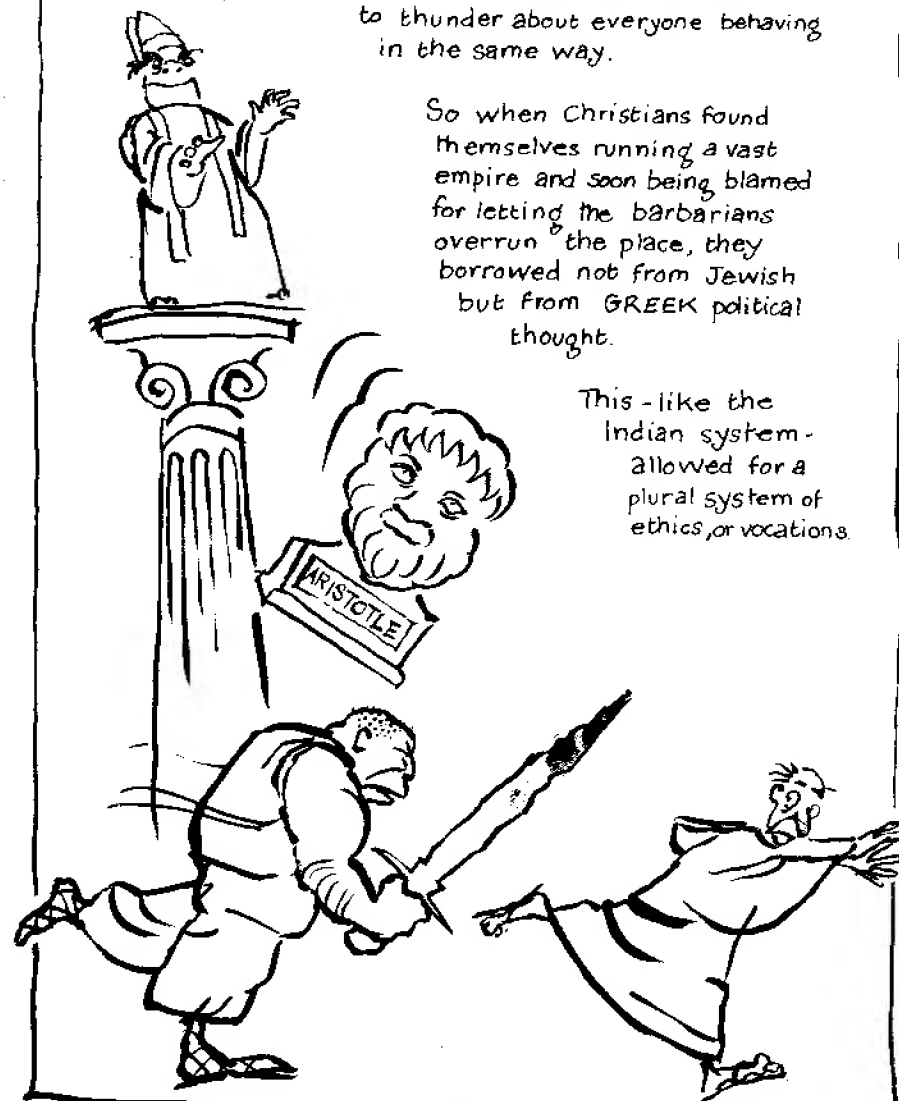
So in practice Buddhists fell back for their politics on the old Indian theory of vocations.

CHRISTIANITY

Christians didn't have such an easy let-out from their desperately difficult morality because the old prophets of the Middle East had tended to thunder about everyone behaving in the same way.

So when Christians found themselves running a vast empire and soon being blamed for letting the barbarians overrun the place, they borrowed not from Jewish but from GREEK political thought.

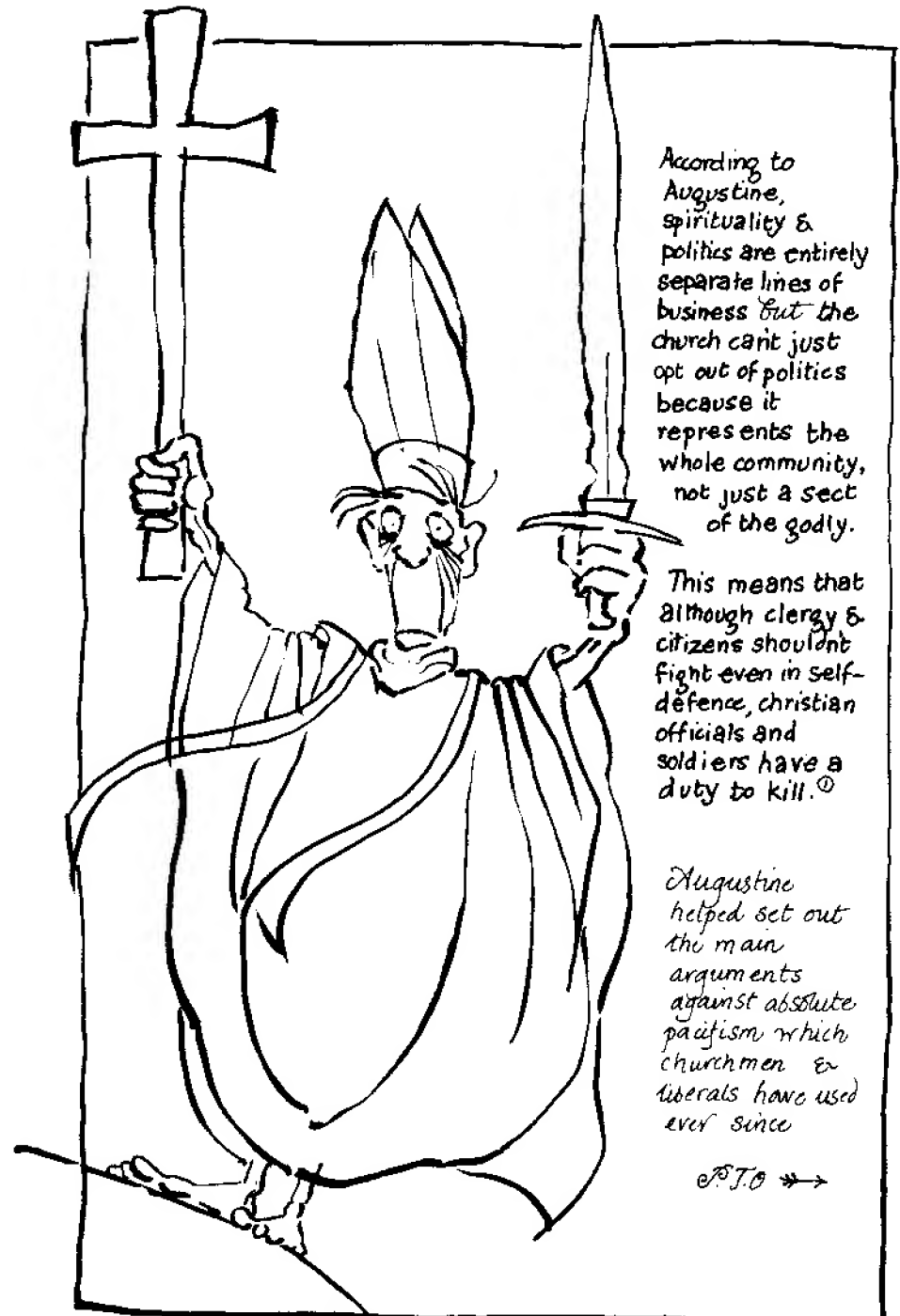
This - like the Indian system - allowed for a plural system of ethics, or vocations.



The leading Greek philosophers thought that man was a *Political Animal* & the state could make him good. So - unlike the early Christians - they approved of power and were interested in political philosophy.



St. Augustine of Hippo - (a rather jaundiced African bishop who was trying to work out a plausible political philosophy for Christianity soon after 410 A.D. when Rome was set ablaze by rampaging barbarians) - tacked some of these Greek theories onto Christian theology & came up with a system of separate vocations. He made up 4 different codes of behaviour - for monks, clergy, citizens and state officials.



According to Augustine, spirituality & politics are entirely separate lines of business *but* the church can't just opt out of politics because it represents the whole community, not just a sect of the godly.

This means that although clergy & citizens shouldn't fight even in self-defence, christian officials and soldiers have a duty to kill. ①


Augustine helped set out the main arguments against absolute pacifism which churchmen & liberals have used ever since

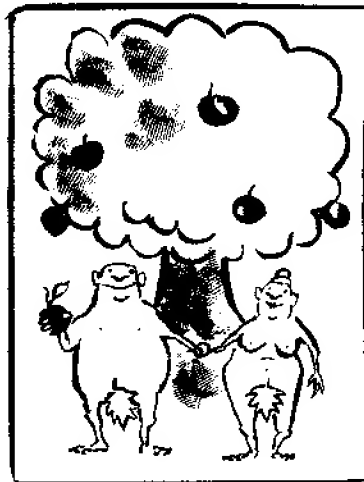
P.T.O. →

1

The Fall



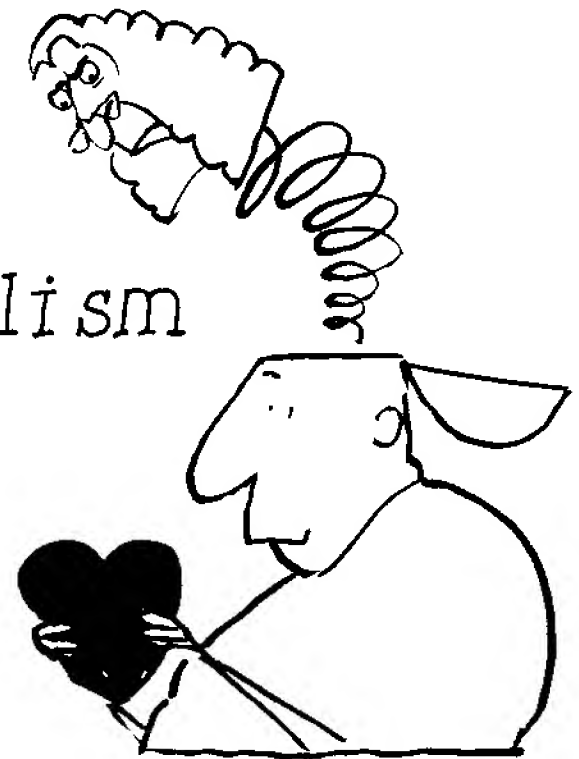
Ever since Adam & Eve ate the apple  mankind has been flawed - according to Christian doctrine. Humans have an inbuilt tendency to mess things up. This is not very different from the 20th Century view of human nature - i.e. that humans are naturally aggressive etc.



So there is no hope of perfection (e.g. real peace) now - and certainly not in groups of any size. ^①To pretend there is is the heresy of perfectionism (idiotic idealism in secular language).

2

Legalism



Pacifists take only one part of the impossible ethic of the Sermon on the Mount, and try to apply it literally. They don't go plucking out their offending eyes much. Christianity isn't a set of absolute literal laws.

Love is the only moral absolute and this doesn't allow you the luxury of knowing that it is ALWAYS, ABSOLUTELY wrong to kill. The Sermon on the Mount doesn't deal with someone striking your LEFT cheek - or your child's, or your neighbour's. Aren't you obliged in love to protect the defenceless?

3 Peace isn't Justice

So we must make the best of a bad job. After all, according to St. Paul: "The Powers that be are ordained of God." ①



Martin Luther
(who borrowed heavily from Augustine)

observed that the lamb can't lie down with the lion unless frequently replaced.

So state officials have a special morality: "Not man it is but God who hangs, breaks on the wheel, beheads, strangles and wages war." (Luther)

If you want justice you can't always have peace.



Augustine thought that officials had the tragic vocation of "mournfully" killing to protect the weak.

all this idealism's getting hard to swallow

The same argument can be turned around to justify violent revolution (as it is by some modern theologians) If the economy is rigged so that the people starve that is "STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE" even if no one fires a shot. So it might be the lesser of two evils to overthrow the system by force.

4 Violence isn't hate



"What does one condemn in war?" asked Augustine.

"Is it the fact that it kills men who all must some day die? Faint-hearted men may blame war for this but not religious men."

"What one condemns in war is the desire to harm."

Augustine thought that only a man who loved his enemy should be free to kill him.

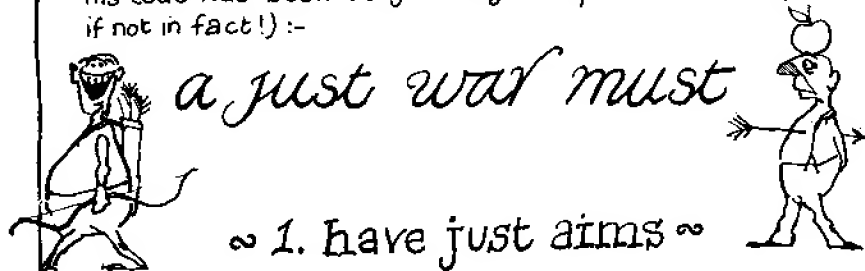


THE JUST



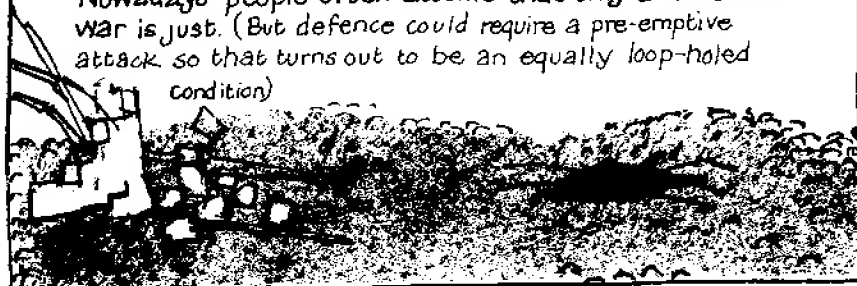
Augustine thought war could be just under certain conditions - which he cribbed mainly from the Greeks. His code has been very widely accepted (in theory if not in fact!) :-

a just war must

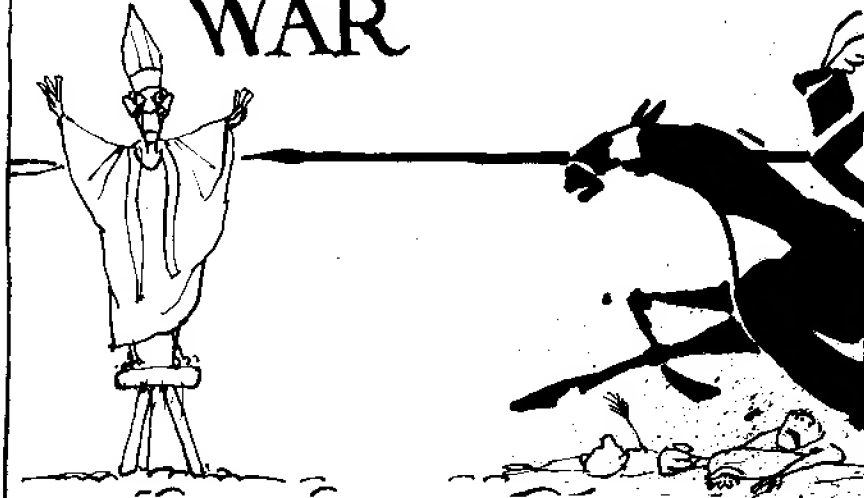


~ 1. have just aims ~

The Greek philosopher, *Plato*, said that the only just aim was the restoration of peace. Nowadays people often assume that only a "defensive" war is just. (But defence could require a pre-emptive attack so that turns out to be an equally loop-holed condition)



WAR

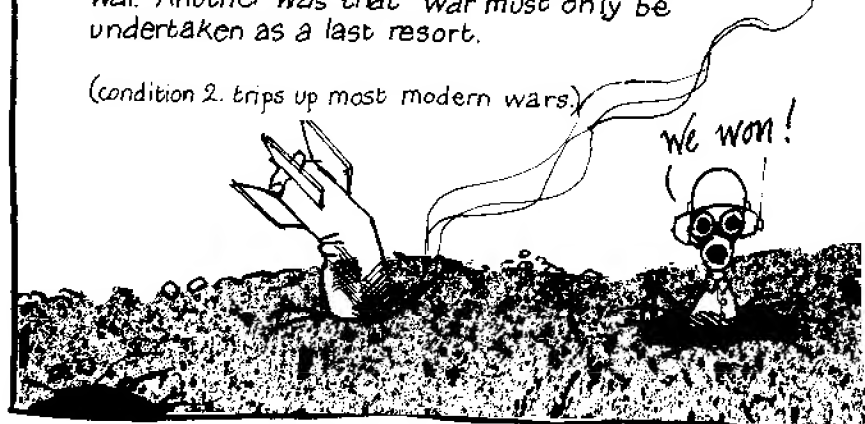


~ 2. be justly waged ~

The Greek Stoics had an idea of "*humanitas*" - common humanity: we all share Reason, so we should be reasonably nice to each other. In practice this meant not killing civilians.

A later variation of this code was the condition of "*proportionality*" - ie you must be sure that the good will outweigh the evil of a particular war. Another was that war must only be undertaken as a last resort.

(condition 2. trips up most modern wars.)



we won!

The JUST

WAR contd.



~ 3. be declared by a legitimate authority ~

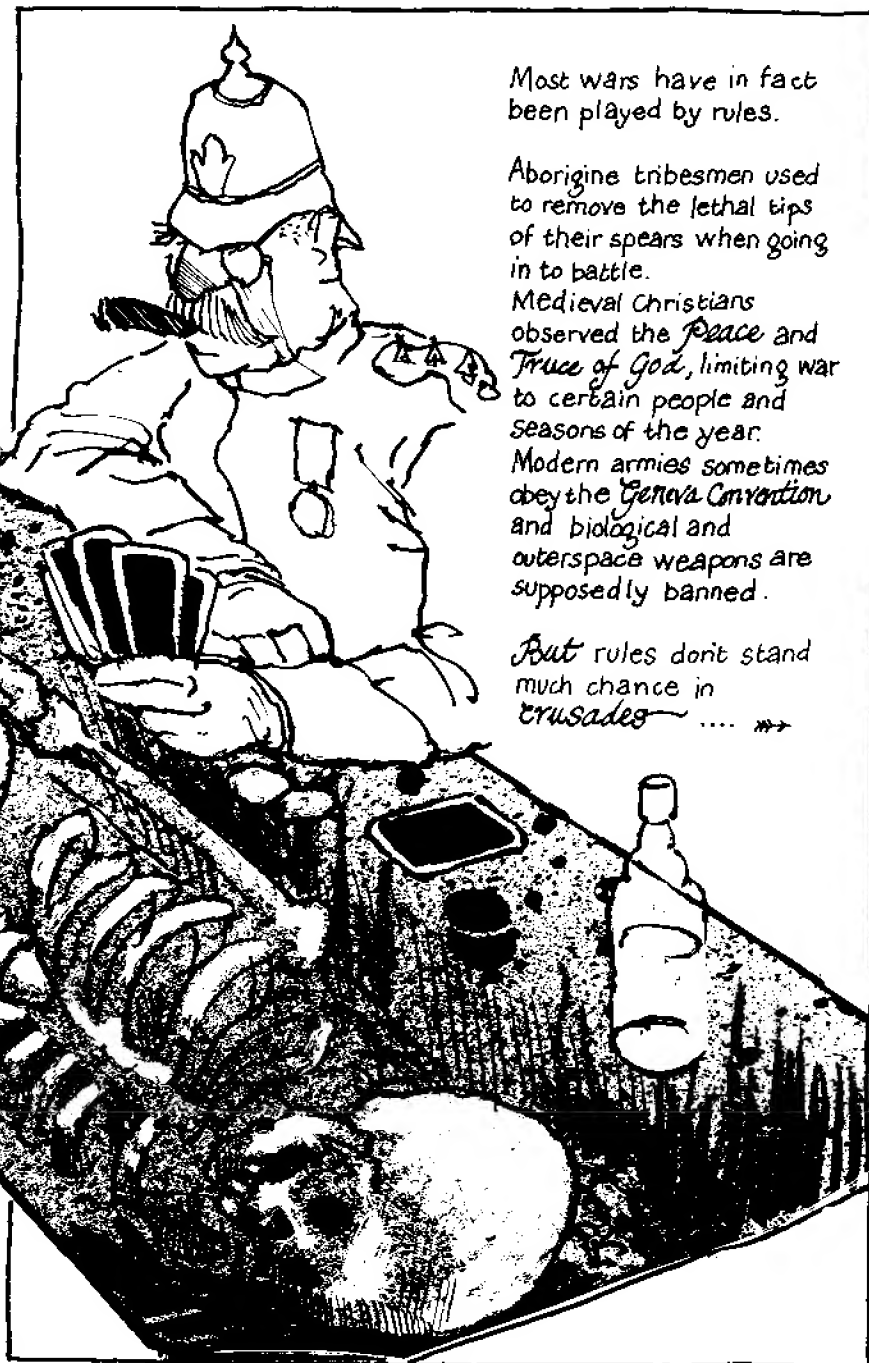
Governments have tried to limit violence by making it a state monopoly (when this breaks down it's called "terrorism").

But who is to say that the government is itself legitimate?

~ 4. respect conscientious objectors ~

In Augustine's time this meant the religious professionals. Monks were meant to live out the Sermon on the Mount in practice. They couldn't just opt for pacifism but had to give up property and families as well.

In 1182 Christian, Archbishop of Mainz slugged nine men to death in battle using his episcopal mace so as righteously to avoid drawing a sword.



Most wars have in fact been played by rules.

Aborigine tribesmen used to remove the lethal tips of their spears when going in to battle.

Medieval Christians observed the *Peace and Truce of God*, limiting war to certain people and seasons of the year.

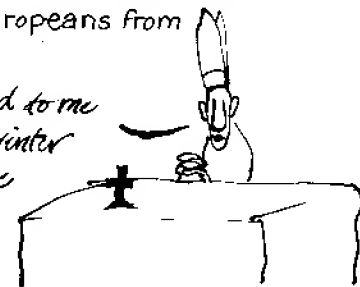
Modern armies sometimes obey the *Geneva Convention* and biological and outerspace weapons are supposedly banned.

But rules don't stand much chance in *crusades* ➔



800 years after Augustine^①, the Roman Empire had been swept away. But the church had managed to hang on (with about half the land of Europe in its pocket). In the process it had done little to convert the barbarian Europeans from their bloody habits.

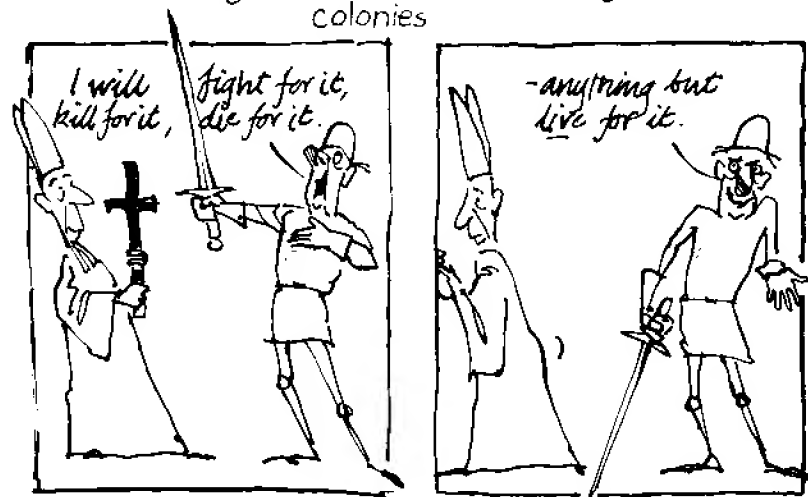
The Almighty has communicated to me his desire for a vicious little winter campaign to open up our trade routes in the Middle East.

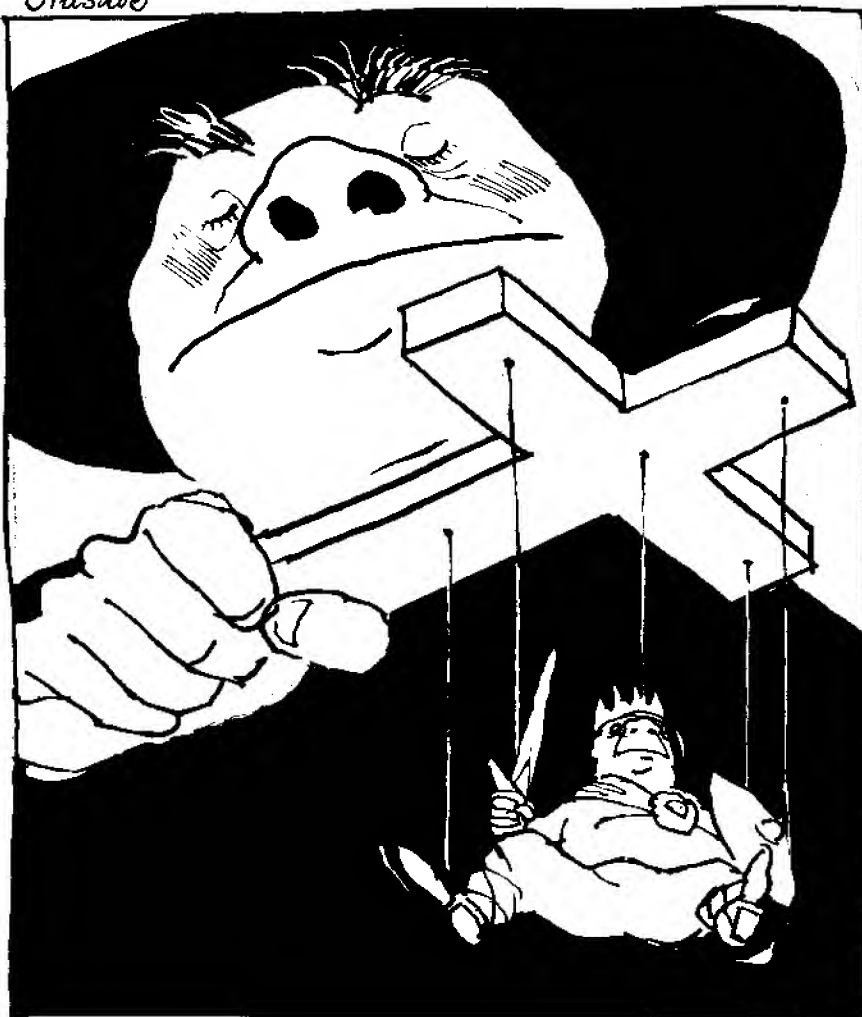


The Crusades were a ruse thought up by the Pope aimed (partly) at stopping Christians fighting each other. They were less troublesome blunting their swords on the scarcely human skulls of the infidel.

(This is familiar old 'groupism' but on a bigger scale.)

The holy war was such a useful political gambit that crusades were later launched by the Church against heretics in Europe - during the Reformation period - and then against the sub-human savages in the colonies





To have a proper holy war you first really need a holy government, or *theocracy*. This is about the oldest form of government known to history and it is still - in one guise or another - very common. If either religion seizes the state or the state seizes the religion, the delicate balance between priests and rulers (which is based on the idea of separate vocations) breaks down and you're likely to get *crusades*.



Throughout the Middle Ages bishops and kings were forever squabbling over the division of power. *Pope Innocent III* in the 13th Century came closest to a Catholic theocracy over all Europe, getting several kings to declare themselves his vassals.

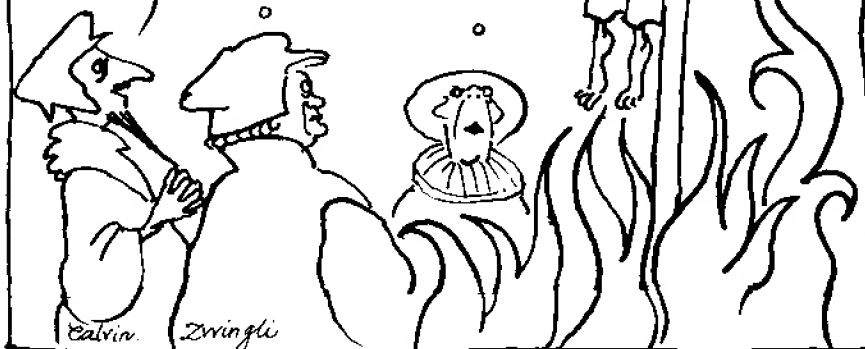
During the *Reformation* at the beginning of the 16th Century two notable religious rebels: *Jean Calvin* and *Huldrych Zwingli* seized the governments of city states in Switzerland and established kind of Protestant theocracies. They weren't shy of using their power (including killing people) to make their citizens better Christians.

feel yourself warming to God's love, my son.

To be good is noble

But to teach others to be good is nobler

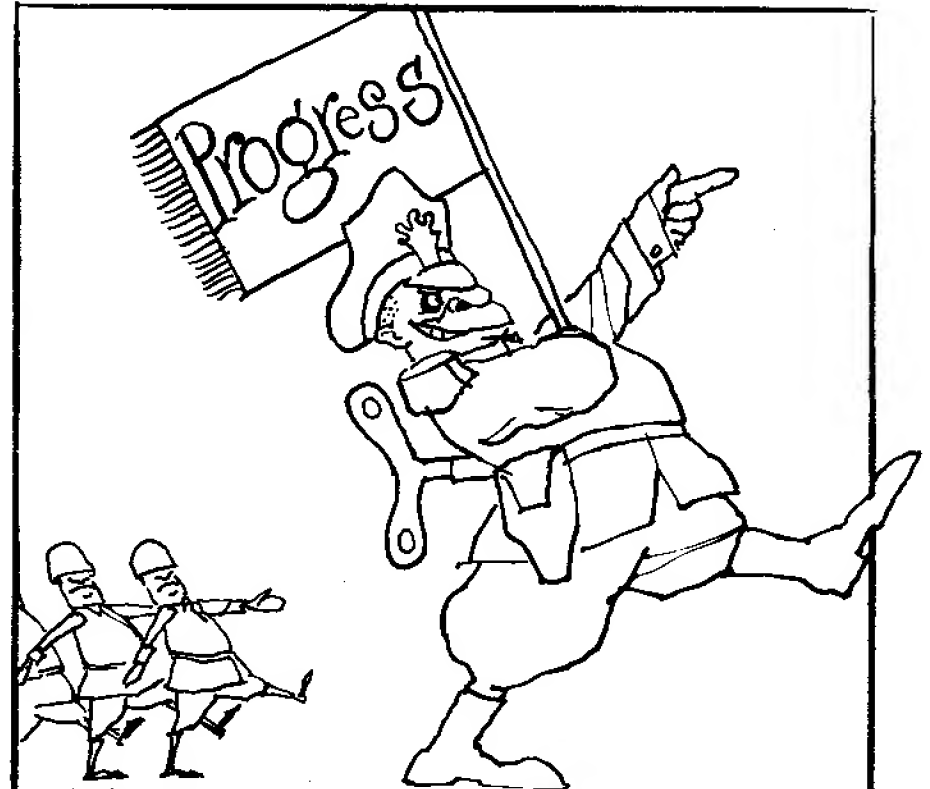
and less trouble



But Christian theocracies didn't last much beyond the Reformation in Europe because God seemed to be getting edged out by science.

Europeans had started reading the old Greek texts again and decided there were 'laws' which could explain why things happened in nature.

The philosophy of men like *René Descartes*, and *Isaac Newton's* discoveries in physics helped produce an idea of the world like an enormous clock - mechanical and predictable.



In the end there didn't seem much room for God in the clock and the intellectuals of the 18th Century *Enlightenment* thought they could get on better without Him and His bloody superstitions. They became optimistic that *progress* could be made not just in knowledge about the clockwork of nature but ALSO IN POLITICS.

Science and politics became a new kind of religion promising a HEAVEN ON EARTH. This in time produced a new kind of (secular) theocracy - At its most extreme in *totalitarian* government.

Some people made a big deal about killing God in the hope that His blood would drown out soppy Christian morality. One of the most enthusiastic assassins was the 19th Century German philosopher *Friedrich Nietzsche*. Kill God and His slave morality, he thought, and you free passion and individuality.



GOD
IS
dead
- Nietzsche



Fascists in the 20th Century gobbled up these ideas and glorified STRUGGLE, VIOLENCE & BLOOD. So did some left-wing nationalists. The Third World ideologue, Franz Fanon for instance thought that a new nation should go through the creative baptism of a bloody war against the colonialists.

Nietzsche is dead
- God

God was meant to be stretched out in the morgue and the quaint tribal gods enjoying their after life in the British Museum; the intellectuals were peering myopically into the better future when out danced the gods in disguise calling themselves new names: FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY, EQUALITY, SOCIALISM, INDEPENDENCE, etc etc and demanded crusades.



Beginning with Napoleon's crusades with his revolutionary people's army, Europe plunged into a new kind of war - total war. We now sing hymns, fly banners, build temples, read the sacred texts & sacrifice human beings on a vast scale to these new tribal gods.



chapter 4



is about
secular politics

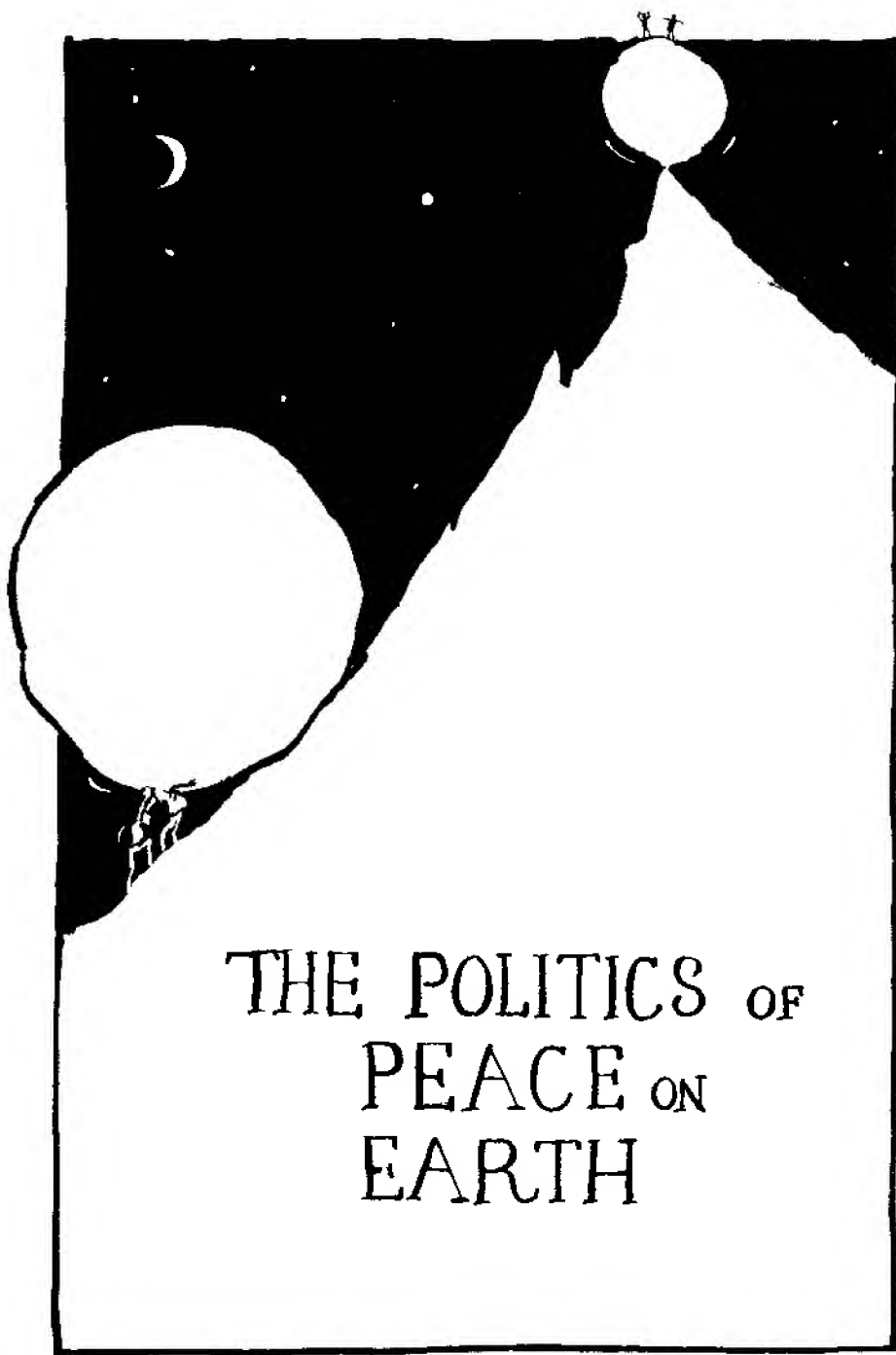
The argument:

What are the political techniques for peace-making (pacifism is refusing to fight which may not be the best way to make peace)

Détente and deterrence are age old techniques. The newer liberal, Marxist & Gandhian politics all depend on the utilitarian view that war isn't worth it. But they offer conflicting solutions: reform and federalism; (violent) revolution; non-violence.

The modern peace movements draw on all these differing philosophies and so are very liable to fall apart.





Détente

mollify the enemy - e.g. by:



Bargaining



Holding Hostages



Accepting Arbitration



Playing Games Together



Exchanging Presents



Paying Tribute



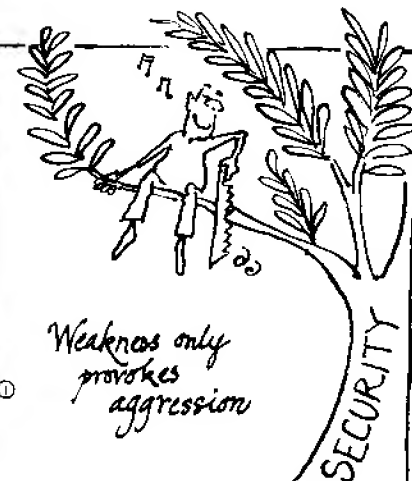
Wife-Swapping

Deterrence

-terrify the enemy-



If you want peace, prepare war" ①



Weakness only provokes aggression

SECURITY

Make war too expensive to fight eg by:

- * building strong defences
- * making military alliances so that the enemy is made to fear escalation.
- * strengthening government - eg
 - give it a monopoly on violence
 - centralize the administration
 - arm an international peace-keeping body - ideally a world government

But the one thing you can't do with bayonets is sit on them - Napoleon



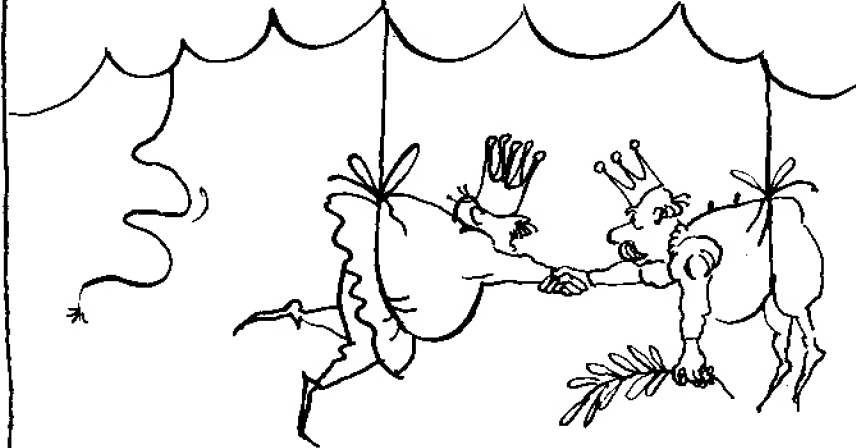
Feeling peaceful?

Imperialists are surprisingly successful often at limiting blood shed in war.

The Pax Romana was particularly successful ② (particularly for the Romans)

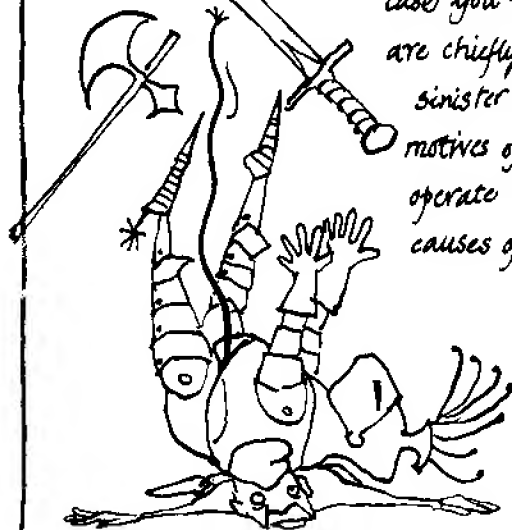
New peacemaking techniques : Reform Society.

For most of history the job of peace-making has been left to God and kings. War was simply accepted by the People as an inevitable catastrophe like the weather.

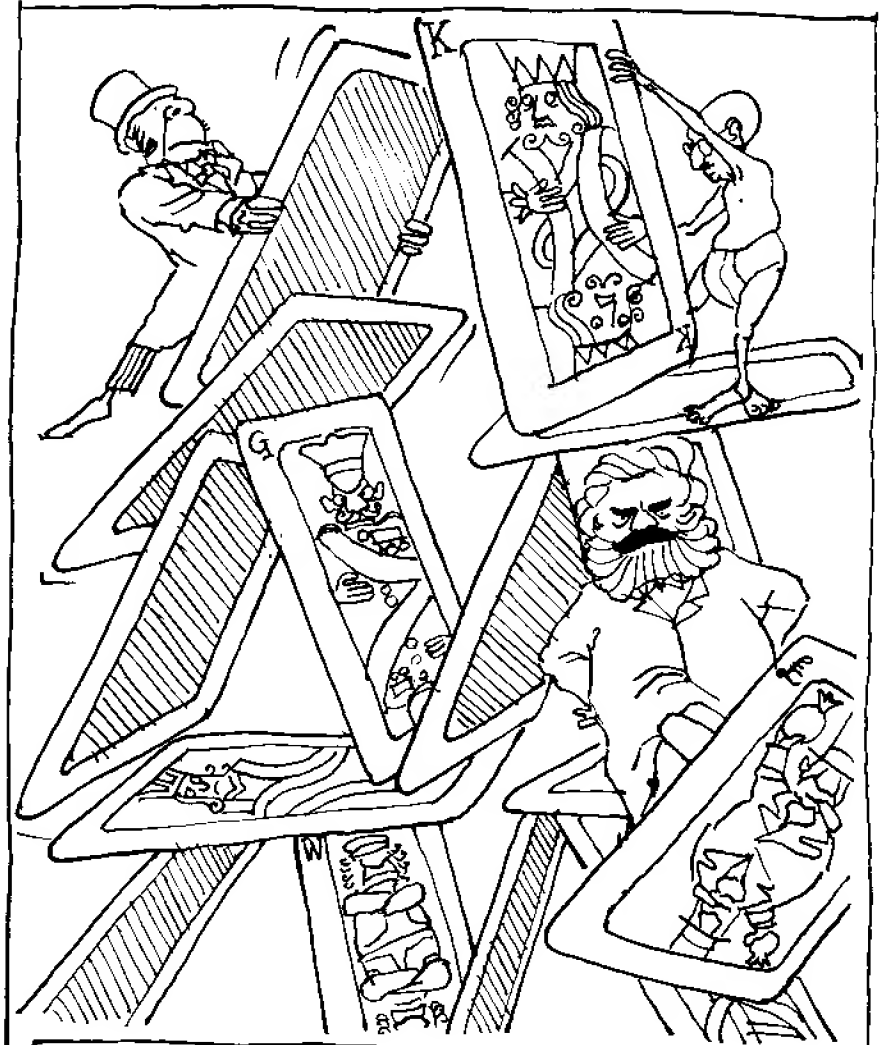


But suspicions began to set in among Europeans about 1500 that war wasn't just an act of God but man-made.

"If you look narrowly into the case you will find that they are chiefly the private, sinister and selfish motives of princes which operate as the real causes of all wars"



Desiderius Erasmus,
an early humanist.



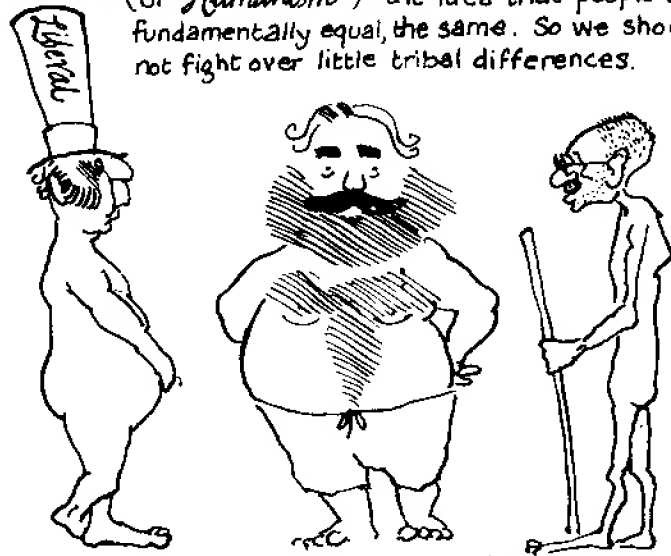
This idea has important implications: it means that if you reshuffle political society you might get rid of war. This theory underlies the 3 major philosophies of peacemaking which have appeared since then: *liberal, Marxist & Gandhian*. All believe that the People are basically peaceable and that wars are the fault of a vicious minority (they don't exactly agree which minority)

liberal, Marxist & Gandhian peacemaking.

Marxists, liberals & Gandhians also share these non-religious motives for peace.

UNIVERSALITY

(or "Humanism") - the idea that people are fundamentally equal, the same. So we should not fight over little tribal differences.



EXPEDIENCY

(or "Utilitarianism")



With divine commandments out of fashion it became respectable (thanks specially to the 18th & 19th Century utilitarian philosophers) to try and judge what is right and wrong by the likely **Results** of an action. - viz will it produce more happiness?

Well, because people are basically equal, the **greatest happiness of the greatest number of people.**

Happiness according to most utilitarians depends on having material power. But it may be better to **sacrifice** a bit of power now (eg by not fighting) so as to get more happiness in the long run for the greatest number of people. ①



More formulas:
groupism + power → war

universality + (total) sacrifice → heavenly Peace

UNIVERSALITY + SOME SACRIFICE → PEACE ON EARTH



LIBERALS

Be it remembered that no war whatever did at any time succeed so fortunately as not to produce more loss than gain.

loss -?
did he
say loss?

The liberal ideologues of the new commercial class in Britain about the end of the 18th Century were extremely suspicious of the Establishment & its interventionist policies abroad.^①

This excessive love for the balance of power is nothing more nor less than a gigantic system of outdoor relief for the aristocratic class.

John Bright

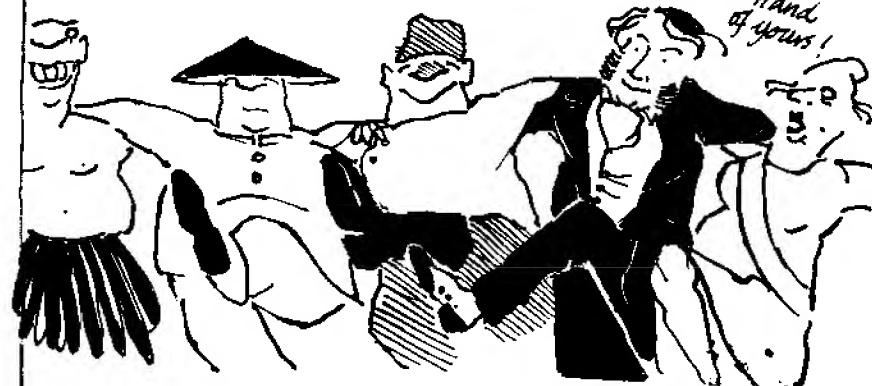
The liberal peace programme had (has) 3 main ingredients: democracy; free trade and federalism.

1 Democracy

Once the People are liberated of superstition and reactionary rulers, they will naturally live like rational beings and at peace.



2 Free Trade



Reactionary governments were blamed for fouling up the free economy which progressives thought would bring people together in peace - and prosperity.

When liberal Quakers, led by Richard Allen, founded the first political Peace Society in London in 1816 it was closely allied with Richard Cobden's Free Trade crusade. His slogan was: "As little interference as possible between governments and as much connection as possible between the nations (ie the people) of the world."



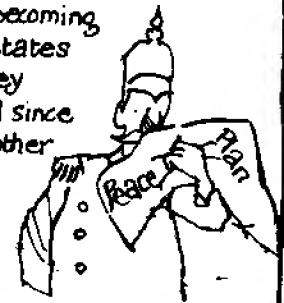
3. Federalism.

Liberals got keen on the idea of an international authority to control squabbling governments. As early as 1310 Dante had proposed a universal federation for a world empire. Desiderius Erasmus and William Penn were among a few who'd since picked up the idea. But it became really fashionable in the late 18th century. Tom Paine, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Jeremy Bentham - ideologues of the new democracy - rushed to produce federalist peace plans.



The most famous plan was published in an almost incomprehensible pamphlet by the Prussian genius Immanuel Kant in 1795. It proposed a voluntary federation between states to stop wars (which were becoming much bloodier at that time). The federal states wouldn't form a military alliance, but they would agree not to fight each other and since this would save them a lot of money and bother other states would in time join in. The awful alternative would hold the federation together.

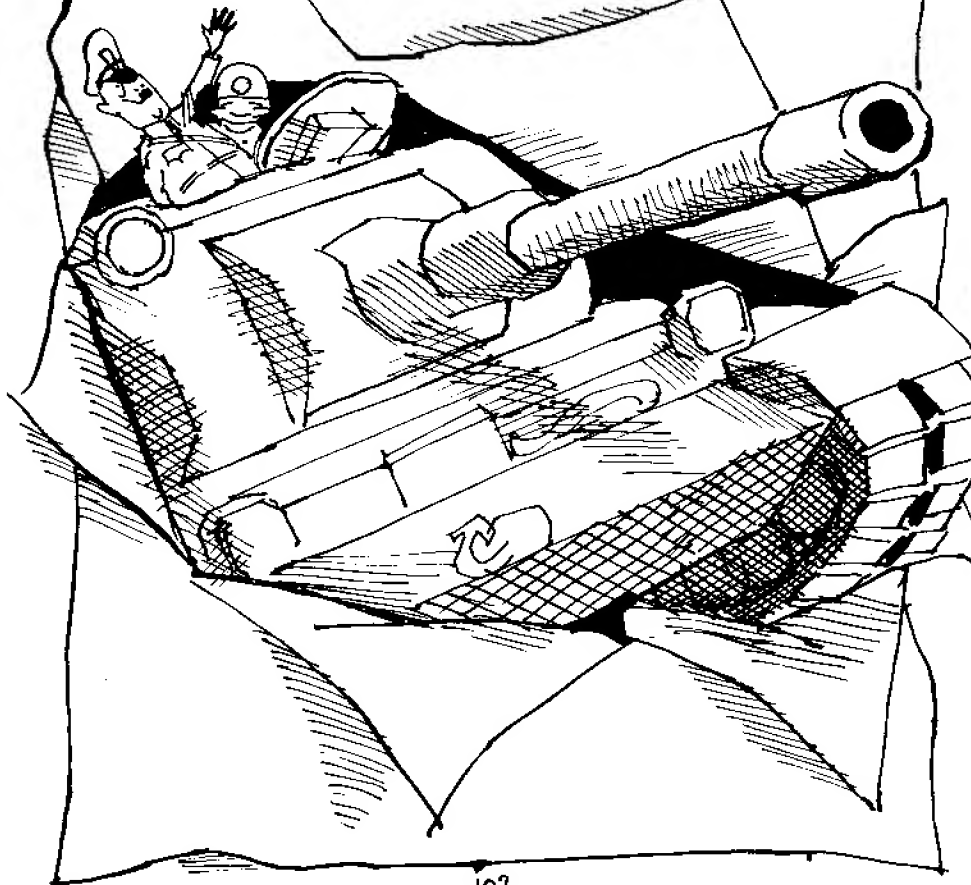
There were just nice ideas till...



liberal peacemaking.

1919 when, after the catastrophic war to end war, the *League of Nations* was founded with great idealism and popular enthusiasm. It was meant to be a kind of world federation but it just collapsed in the 1930s when first Japan, then Italy and Germany drove their tanks through its paper resolutions.

Decent public opinion and economic sanctions or appeasement (which meant giving the defeated powers of Europe a fairer share of the world economy) didn't seem able to stop boot-boys like Adolf Hitler.



federalism



THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations, set up in another spate of federalist idealism at the end of the Second World War, was less democratic than the League of Nations and realistically allowed the Superpowers special privileges.

"It gives me great pleasure to announce that the redrafting committee has produced an entirely new set of official platitudes."

But besides getting a lot of new members - with a great deal to say - in the 1960s, it has never looked much like an authoritative world government.

Cold war nationalism froze out a lot of federalist hopes.

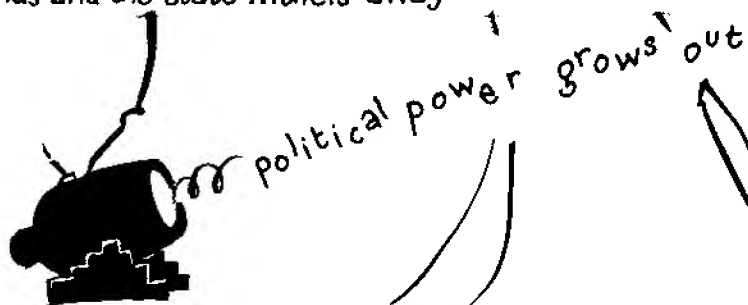


"As for us, we were never concerned with the Kantian priestly and vegetarian Quaker prattle about the 'sacredness of human life'. To make the individual sacred we must destroy the social order which crucifies him & this problem can only be solved with blood and iron."

Trotsky

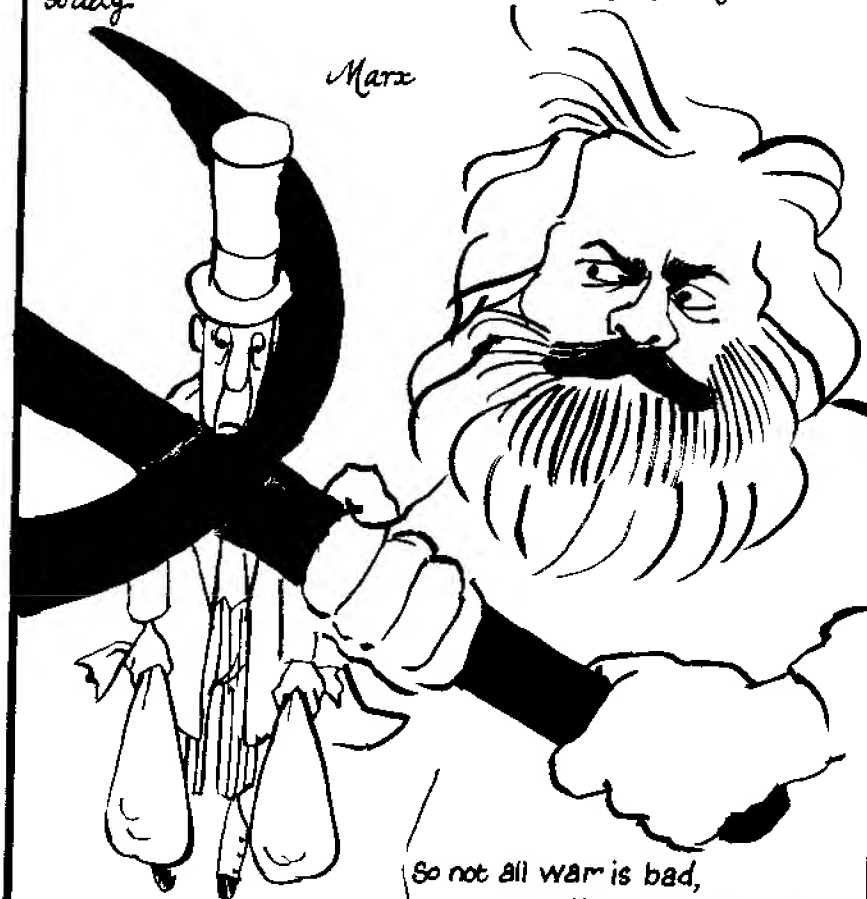


According to Marxist theory^① (which hinges on the importance of material power) peace won't come till class oppression ends and the state withers away



Economic forces make this transformation of society ultimately inevitable but: "force is the midwife of every old society."

Marx



So not all war is bad,
according to the Marxists.

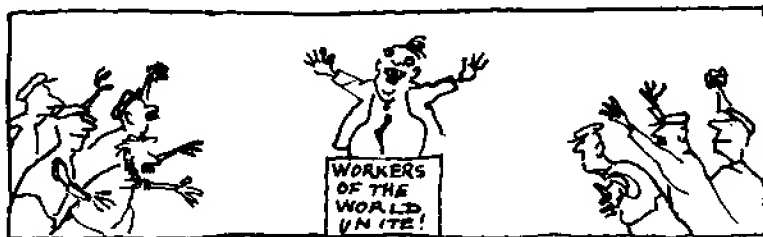
of the barrel of a gun

Mao



Marxist peacemaking.

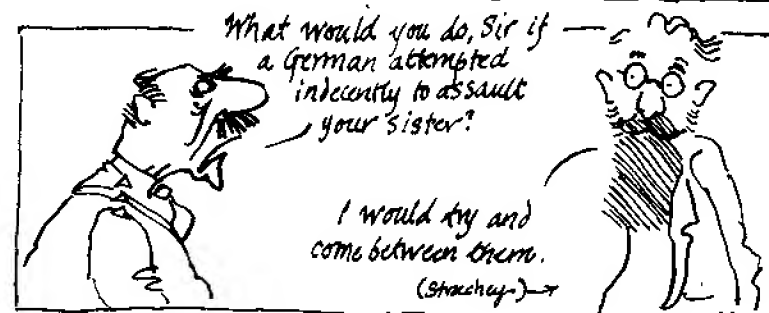
The outbreak of World War I split the Marxists. In 1889 Europe's major socialist parties had formed the *Second International*. They swore they wouldn't fight the capitalists' war for them. General strikes were planned to paralyse the war. But this front collapsed. * the working class got intoxicated with belligerent nationalism. * *Lenin*, coolly applying Marx's logic, welcomed the war.



Lenin

"If the war rouses among the whimpering petty bourgeoisie only horror & fright, then we must say: capitalist society is always an endless horror."

Lenin welcomed the war because defeat could be exploited to topple the Tsarist state. The state is the violent organization of oppression, said Lenin and he insisted it could only be overthrown by violence. He wanted to turn the "imperialist war into a civil war." He succeeded.



In England while the (mainly liberal) 19th Century peace societies folded up in 1914, it was the socialists who took the lead in organizing war resistance - partly from pacifist conscience, partly to subvert the state.

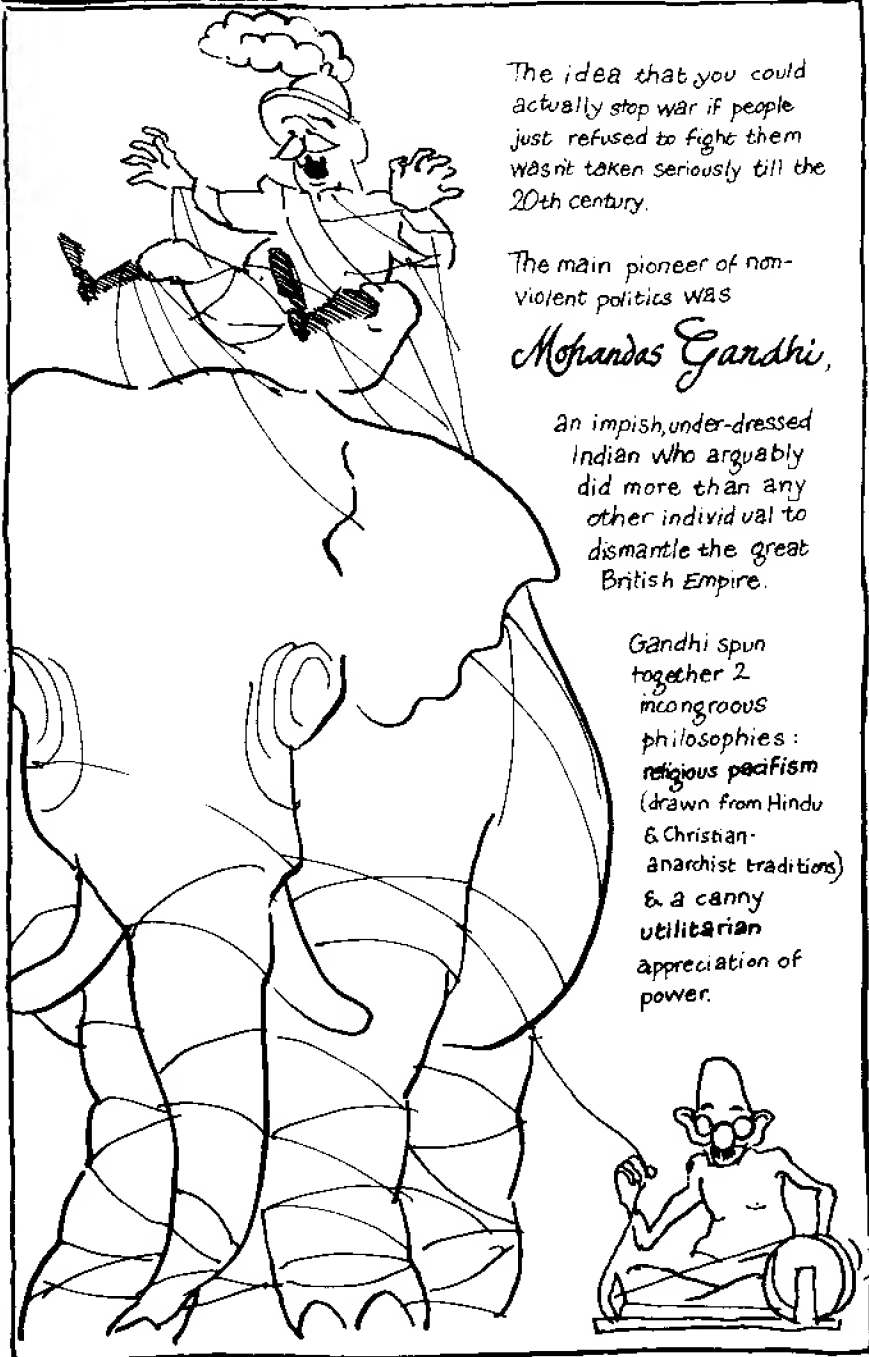
(There was also a tiny number of elitist pacifists like Lytton Strachey and a friend of his who, when asked why he wasn't fighting for civilization like the rest, replied: "Madam, I am the civilization they are fighting for.")

But the pacifist tendency of the early British Labour Party didn't last beyond the 1930s. The Spanish civil war was a test case. Most socialists decided the revolution there had to be defended against fascist attack. Isolationism was largely abandoned.

Anti-imperialism (which tends to be violent) as so often proved to be a stronger strain within socialism than pacifism.



GANDHIANS



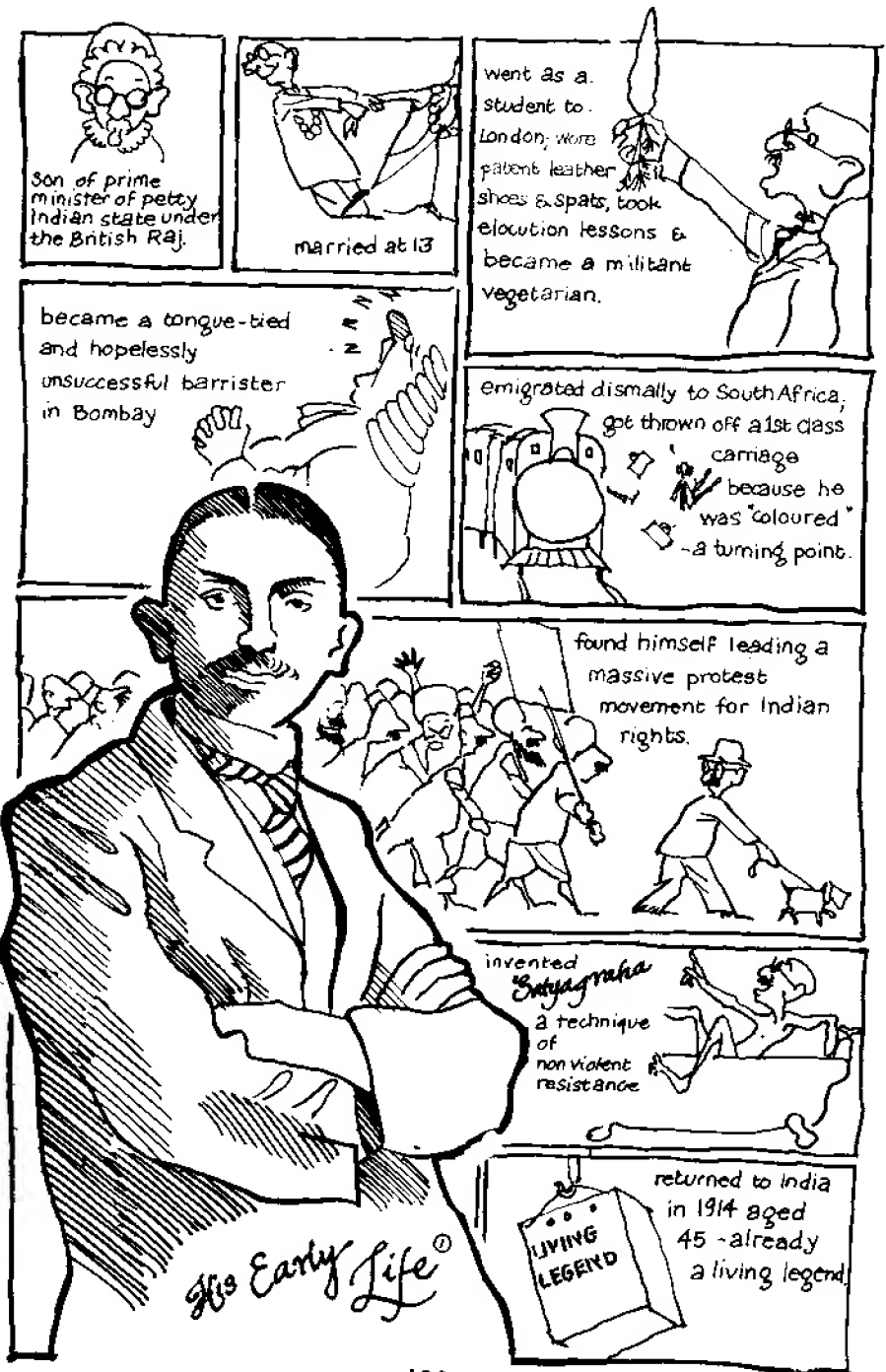
The idea that you could actually stop war if people just refused to fight them wasn't taken seriously till the 20th century.

The main pioneer of non-violent politics was

Mohandas Gandhi,

an impish, under-dressed Indian who arguably did more than any other individual to dismantle the great British Empire.

Gandhi spun together 2 incongruous philosophies: religious pacifism (drawn from Hindu & Christian-anarchist traditions) & a canny utilitarian appreciation of power.



His Early Life

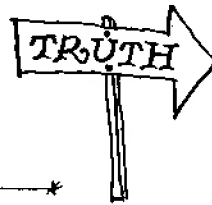
His Philosophy^①

no such thing as an external enemy... Sacrifice is the law of life... Suffering in one's own person is the golden rule of conduct is mutual toleration seeing that we mean by all that that lives. Therefore I believe I believe that if one man fall the whole world falls to that extent...



To me Truth is God & there is no way to find Truth

shall always see Truth in fragment and from different angles... In the history of non-violent action there is of love... of belief in the essential unity of essence of Non-Violence... Non-violence is, in its active form, good-will towards all life.



Gandhi wasn't content with being a skinny sage, he was a very powerful politician.

"In politics also we have to establish the kingdom of Heaven."

"Those who say that Religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what Religion means"

Nobody before had seriously thought *Ahimsa* - non-violence - which was a personal spiritual technique, could be any use in politics.

Gandhi said it could because:
"non-violence doesn't seize power. It doesn't even seek power... Power accrues to it" because: ①

It taps the most powerful force in the world - love.

"Human nature is in the essence one & therefore unflinchingly responds to the advances of love"

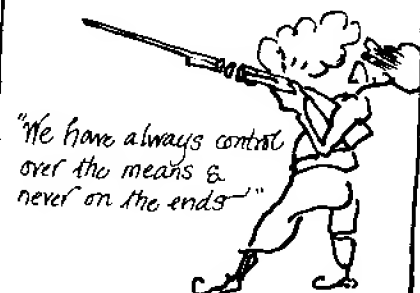


It's a kind of moral jiu-jitsu:

- It's surprising
- It robs the aggressor of dignity
- It doesn't feed anger with reprisals.

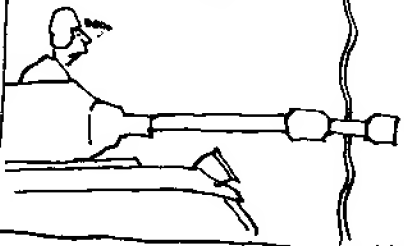


It harmonizes ends and means



"We have always control over the means & never on the ends"

It draws on the spiritual traditions of India & transforms apparent feebleness into the strength to undermine the brittle, brutal, mechanical power of the West.



It exploits will-power - the basic stuff of politics.

How come, Tolstoy demanded, a commercial company enslaved a nation of 200 million. "The responsibility is more ours than that of the English," said Gandhi.



Gandhian peacemaking (before Gandhi!)

She's so disarming!



Gandhi didn't invent non-violent resistance.



* The women of Ancient Greece refused to make love to their husbands in a bid to stop the Spartan-Athenian war (- according to the imaginary history given by Aristophanes in his play *Lysistrata*)

* The Plebs of Rome in 494 B.C. forbore to murder the consuls in the normal way to redress their grievances and instead staged a massive sit-in on the Sacred Mountain.

Will climb down if you do.

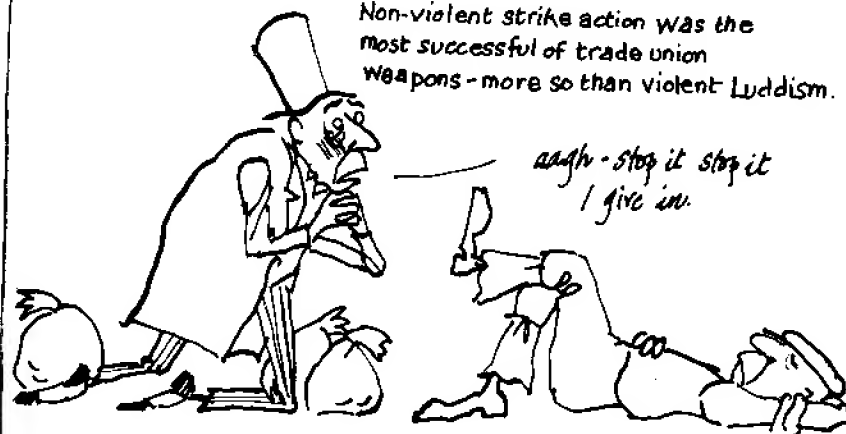


Long before Gandhi, nonviolent mass resistance had been used (with partial success) against imperialism or autocratic government - usually after violence had failed.

e.g. Dutch resistance to the Spanish (1565-1576)
Hungarian resistance to the Austrians (1850-1867)
Revolt against the Russian tsar (1905) ①

(It's often been used - with a dash of violence - since
e.g. Norwegians versus the Nazis; Czechs versus Soviets, Iranians versus the Shah.)

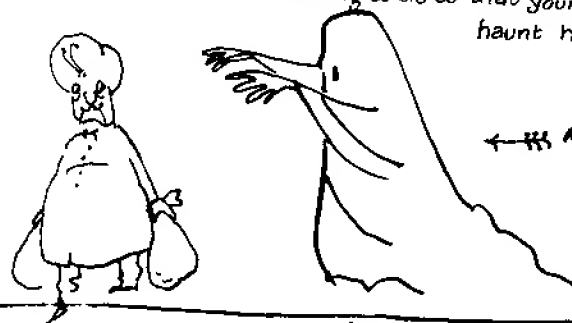
Non-violent strike action was the most successful of trade union weapons - more so than violent Luddism.



aagh - stop it stop it / give in.

And there were also traditional Indian techniques of non-violent protest:

hartal - a symbolic political strike
hijrat - mass emigration
dharna - squatting at the door of your opponent waiting to die so that your ghost will haunt him.

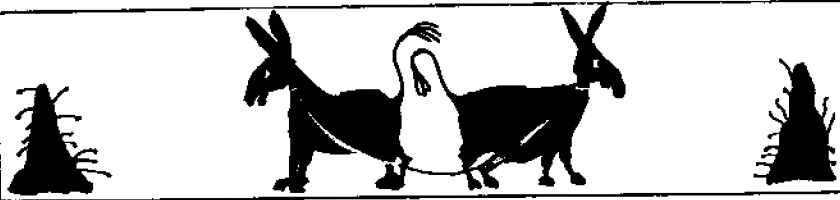


← a spirited resistance

Gandhian Peacemaking

Gandhi's Satyagraha (= "Truth-force")

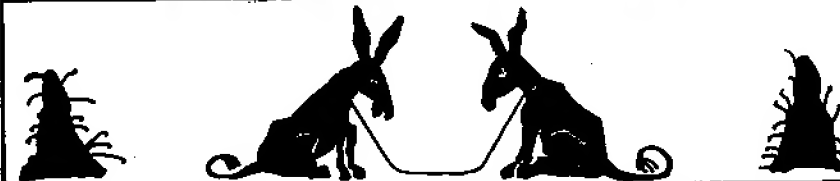
can be used as political coercion (so it's not the same as religious non-resistance) but it's more than that as well.
Its aims: Truth; not Power



Politicians normally bargain power against power until



they reach a compromise in the middle.



Gandhi's dialectic: out of the honest clash of opinions should emerge



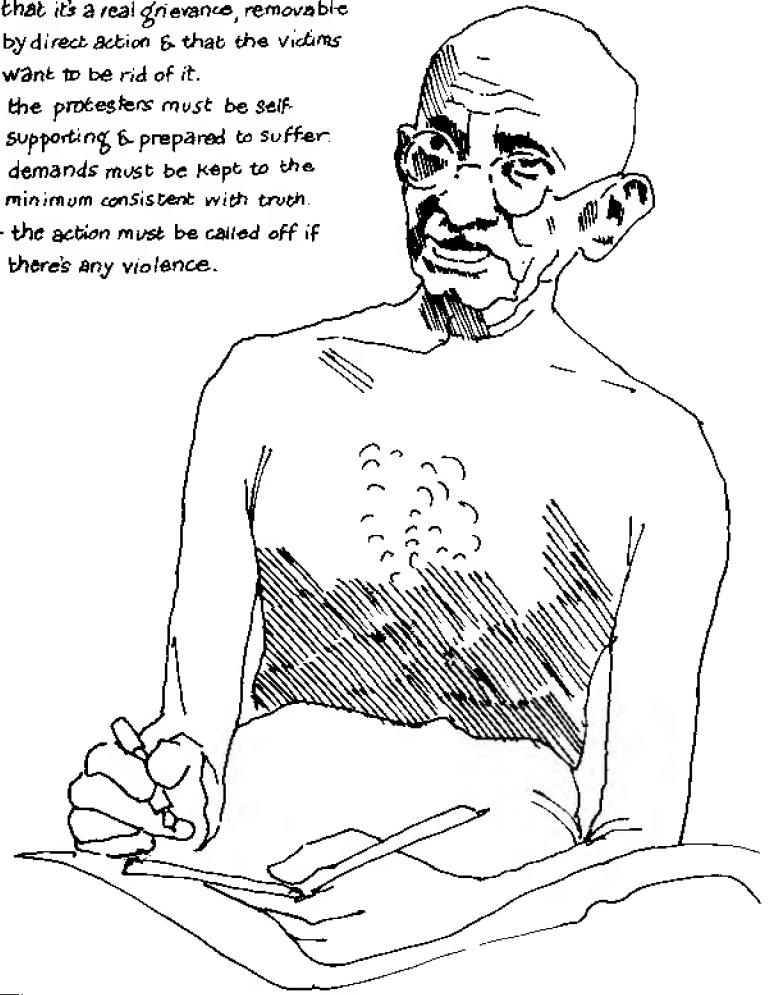
not a compromise but a synthesis.



closer to the truth than either of the first two positions ①

THE CONDITIONS for using satyagraha:

1. You must first try to persuade your opponent by reason, then publicize your case and issue an ultimatum.
2. eliminate self-interest through prayer and fasting.
3. then you can consider direct action - civil disobedience - but only under these conditions:
 - there must be impartial evidence that it's a real grievance, removable by direct action & that the victims want to be rid of it.
 - the protesters must be self-supporting & prepared to suffer.
 - demands must be kept to the minimum consistent with truth.
 - the action must be called off if there's any violence.



satyagraha involves austerity

One of the very few possessions Gandhi allowed himself was a wastepaper basket. He directed the Indian independence movement from an old soap box in a dusty ashram (he was sponsored there by some millionaires who were fond of him)



In his lusty thirties he took a vow of total chastity which he later tested (to the consternation of his disciples) by sharing his bed with young women.

He was tough on his family. Harilal, his eldest son was denied a Western education. He cracked up, became a rake and published scandalous attacks on his father.

and social reform

Gandhi exasperated the nationalist politicians by diverting the Independence movement in the 1930s into a campaign to reform the caste system. But he won real improvements for India's 60 million untouchables.



Gandhi rejected not just British imperialism but Western culture.

"European Civilization is satanic", he said

Our fondness for good sewage was the one thing Gandhi really admired about the West. He went round the villages picking up excrement.

He thought India's millions really had no use for modern industry. They should spend their time instead spinning by hand - to learn the dignity of labour, boycott imports and uplift the village economy. ①



Satyagraha in action.

Two Examples :-

1. Gandhi led a strike in 1918 against the Ahmedabad textile industry moguls - his friends. He insisted the desperate strikers shouldn't settle for less than a 35 percent wage rise and went on hunger strike when they wavered. In the end the bosses gave in. The strike helped create the most powerful of India's trade unions.

2. As part of the campaign in 1930 & 1931 against the British - and especially the mean tax on salt - Gandhi led an enormous march to the coast to make salt from the sea illegally. The masses rallied to the independence movement for the first time in vast numbers and started making illegal salt. They staged an unarmed assault on government salt works but were beaten back.

An American newsman reported :-

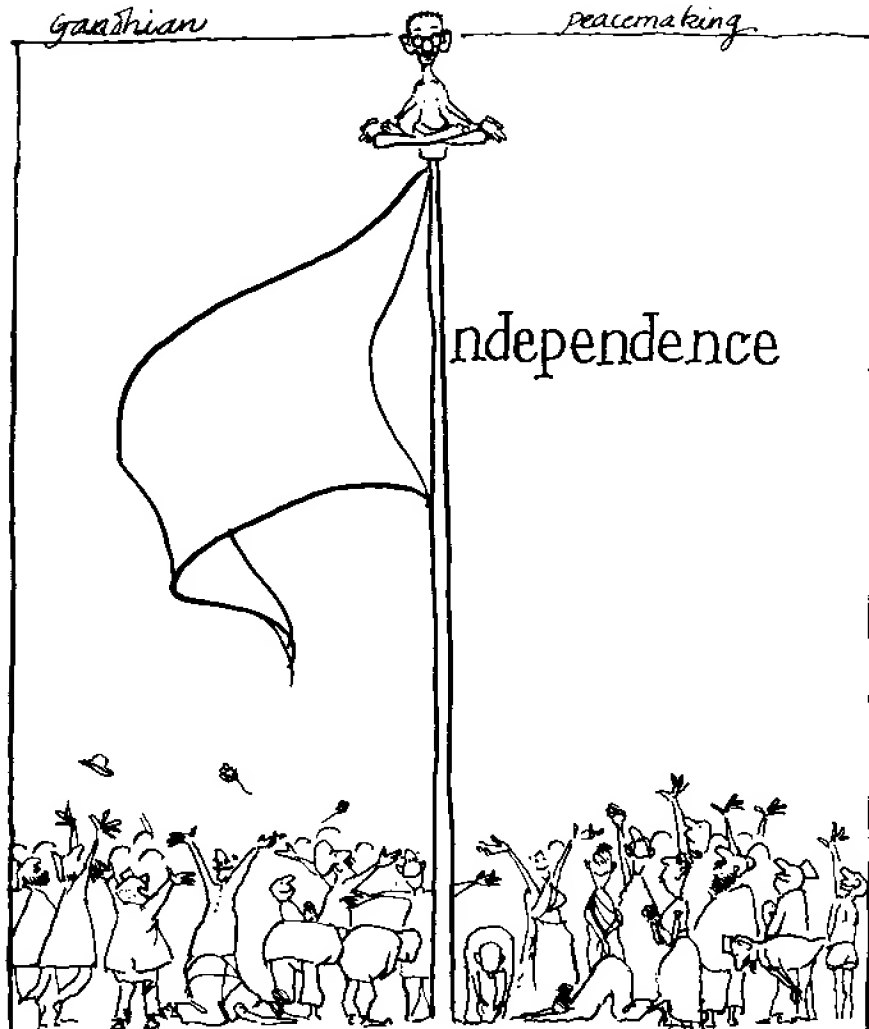
"Not one of the marchers even raised an arm to fend off the blows. They went down like ninepins. From where I stood I heard the sickening whack of the club on unprotected skulls...

One blood-soaked sikh gave us a bloody grin and stood up to receive some more. The sergeant was so sweaty from his exertions that his Sam Browne had stained his white tunic. He drew back his arm for a final swing and then dropped his hands down by his sides. "It's no use" he said turning to me with half an apologetic grin "You can't hit a bugger when he stands up to you like that!" He gave the sikh a mock salute and walked off."

The salt laws were changed and talks on constitutional reform were initiated.

Gandhian

peacemaking

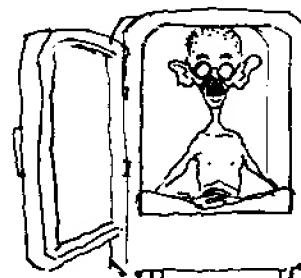


Gandhi wasn't really a nationalist but he cannily equated independence with "swaraj" - moral autonomy - and so made it a religious as well as a political goal.

The masses worshipped him & he bequeathed his following to the dapper Westernized socialists running the nationalist movement. His nonviolence helped British public opinion to accept the idea of independence. He inspired popular revolt against the British Empire all over the world.

But - say the cynics -
sorry old boy but I really must be going

* the British were looking for excuses to go anyway and were more scared of the rival terrorist movement than of Gandhi.



* Gandhi became an embarrassment with his cranky anti-modernism by the end of the 1930s and was put in cold storage by both the technocratic nationalists and the British.

* his non-violent campaign was overwhelmed by the bloody Second World War. After it Britain hadn't the strength to cling on to India. Independence itself led to the partition of the country - in which hundreds of thousands of people were slaughtered.



* all Gandhi's main policies - his nonviolence, his anti-industrialism, his kind of village anarchism - were studiously ignored by the rulers of independent India.

Gandhian peacemaking

But Gandhi's views have been influential among people from very different backgrounds: eg:-

belligerent Muslims More than 100,000 fierce Pathan tribesmen joined the *Khudai Khidmatgar*, a party dedicated to non-violence and self-sacrifice, which was founded in 1929 by a friend of Gandhi's - *Abdul Ghaffar Khan*.

In 1931 they helped seize control of the important city of Peshawar from the British and set up a parallel government.

But after the violent partition of India Abdul Ghaffar Khan had a misunderstanding with the new nationalist government of Pakistan and was rewarded with a state pension for a great many years - in jail.

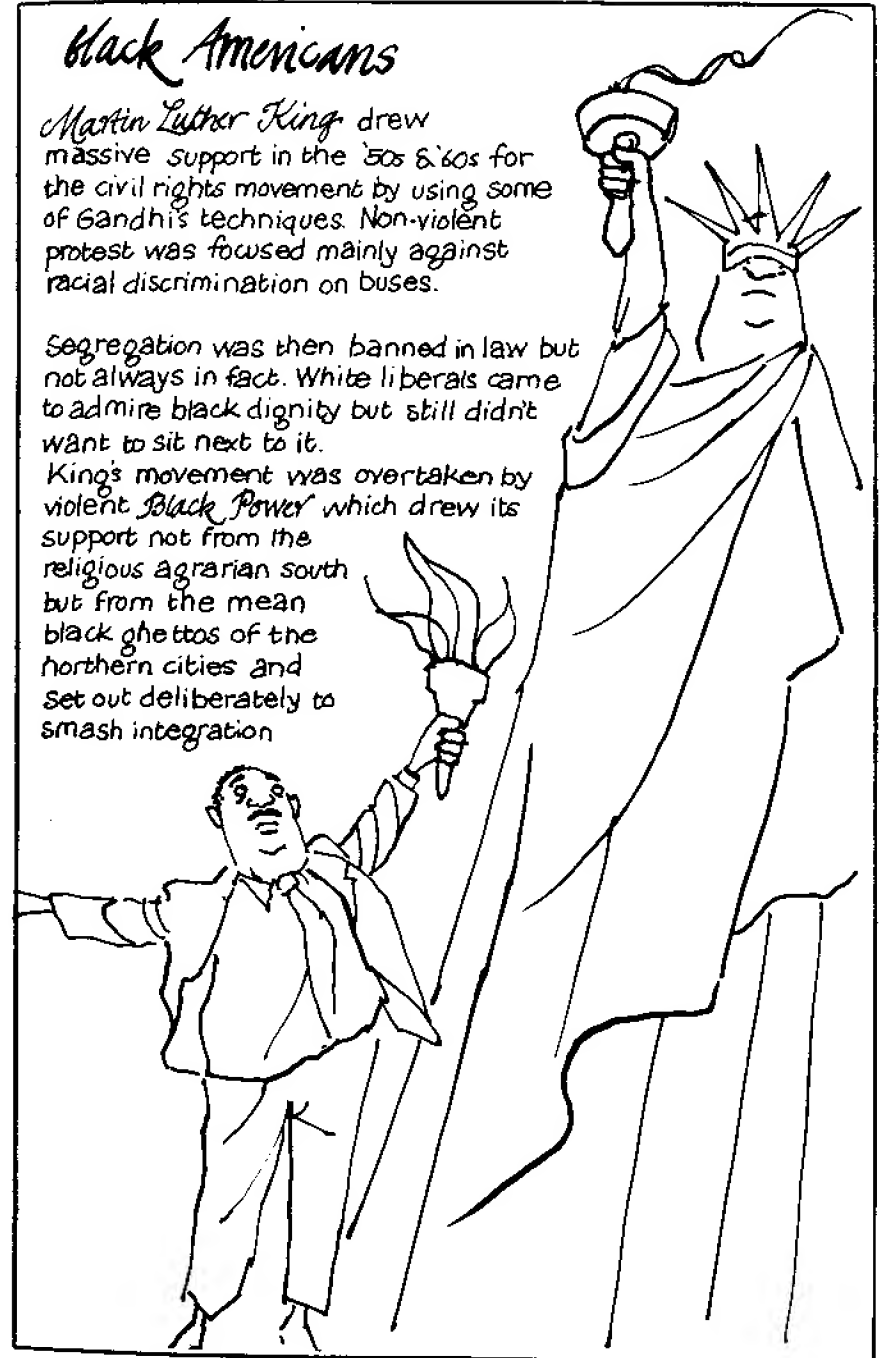


Black Americans

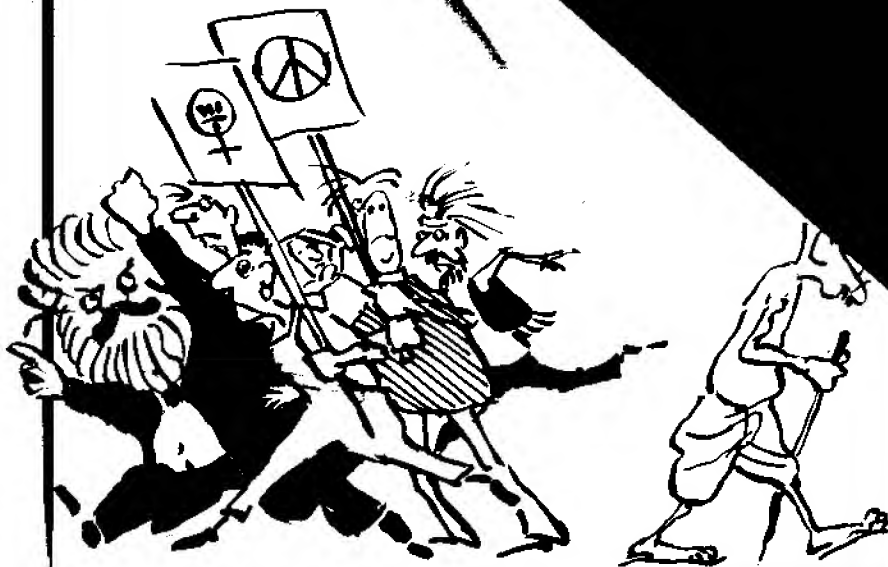
Martin Luther King drew massive support in the '50s & '60s for the civil rights movement by using some of Gandhi's techniques. Non-violent protest was focused mainly against racial discrimination on buses.

Segregation was then banned in law but not always in fact. White liberals came to admire black dignity but still didn't want to sit next to it.

King's movement was overtaken by violent *Black Power* which drew its support not from the religious agrarian south but from the mean black ghettos of the northern cities and set out deliberately to smash integration



white radicals



Emerging from the counter culture of the Vietnam peace movement, a lot of radicals, hippies and feminists got into Gandhi's non-violence (but also into having a cool time, man). Their 'alternative' movement has oozed into all kinds of non-violent reform campaigns: sexual equality, devolution, third-world development, gay rights, ecology - and of course peace.

The phallic missiles of modern war are seen as the ultimate symbol of a repressive, hierarchical male-chauvinist-pig society. *But* radicals and feminists tend not to be 100 percent pacifist. With his violent anti-imperialism **Marx** emerged during the Vietnam war as a more popular gun than **Gandhi**.

if not total

The techniques of nonviolent protest have been used with obvious success for social reform and liberation - particularly against selfish liberal governments. But the really tough question remains unanswered: **does nonviolence work internationally - against bloody-minded militarist aggressors?**



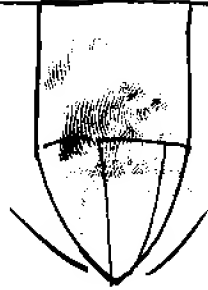
Gandhian peacemaking

Gandhi's answer:

Ahimsa - said Gandhi - is an impossible standard and useless as a doctrine: it must be believed with the heart.

Violent resistance is better than cowardice - he called that "violence double-distilled."

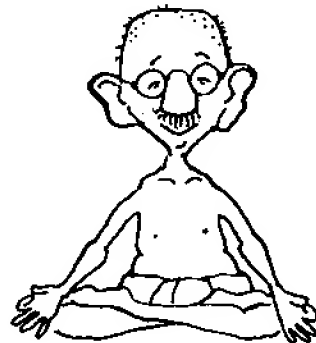
Gandhi volunteered for ambulance service in the Boer war and helped recruitment at the start of World War I.



He accepted that all Indians wouldn't undertake Satyagraha and they should be able to get military training.

He thought the Allies were right in the Second World War but he advised the British to abstain from violence.

"At one stroke Hitler will find that all his tremendous armament has been put out of action."



He never worked out a viable system of non-violent national defence but threatened the Japanese with total non-cooperation if they invaded India.

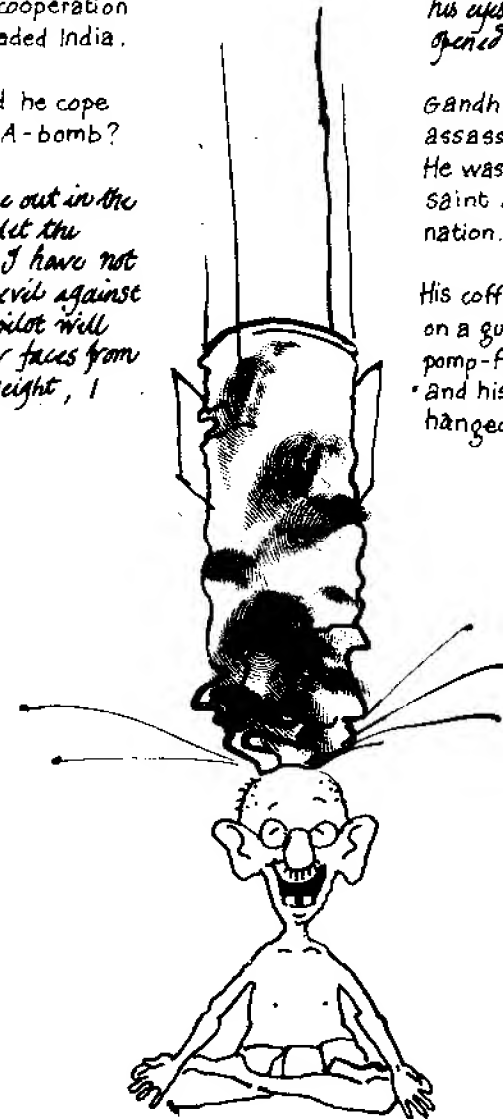
How would he cope with the A-bomb?

"I will come out in the open and let the pilot see I have not a trace of evil against him. The pilot will not see our faces from his great height, I know."

But the longing in our heart that he will not come to harm would reach up to him and his eyes would be opened.

Gandhi was assassinated in 1948. He was hailed as a saint and father of the nation.

His coffin was mounted on a gun carriage in a pomp-filled funeral and his murderer was hanged.



Bertrand Russell's answer:

- the 20th century's leading Western
peacenik, world-famous philosopher,
earl, iconoclast, Nobel prize
winner and jail bird.



Russell didn't swallow Gandhi's
religion but he agreed that
pacifism was practical -
and expedient ...

Before the end of the present century, unless something quite
unforeseeable occurs one of these possibilities will have been realized:

1. The end of human life, perhaps of all life on our planet.
2. a reversion to barbarism after a catastrophic diminution of the
population of the globe.
3. a unification of the world under a single government possessing a
monopoly of all the major weapons of war.

Men who are convinced that the prevention of war is the most pressing
problem facing civilization should, it seems to me, publicly and solemnly
pledge themselves to take no part in war, no matter what the issue
may be. It isn't implied logically that all war, always, is on balance
harmful. What is implied is: a) most wars are harmful
b) that the outbreak of war produces an excitement that clouds
people's judgement c) that no one can know that a war which
is in progress will not be harmful on the whole d) that therefore
it is better to make a rule of abstaining from war to guard against
war hysteria. (1922)



Gandhian peacemaking.

About 140,000 people took Russell's advice and sent postcards saying:

We renounce war and
never again directly or
indirectly will we
support or sanction
another.

to: Dick Sheppard
a pop parson who set up the
Peace Pledge Union (PPU)
the focus of an enormous surge
of pacifism in Britain in the
mid 1930s.



The P.P.U. insisted that absolute pacifism was practical politics. But they were a bit woolly about policies: ①

* most hoped the PPU would just grow so big the government would have to do something.



* others (like Aldous Huxley, the novelist) wanted a mystical counter-culture complete with communes, knitting & contemplation.



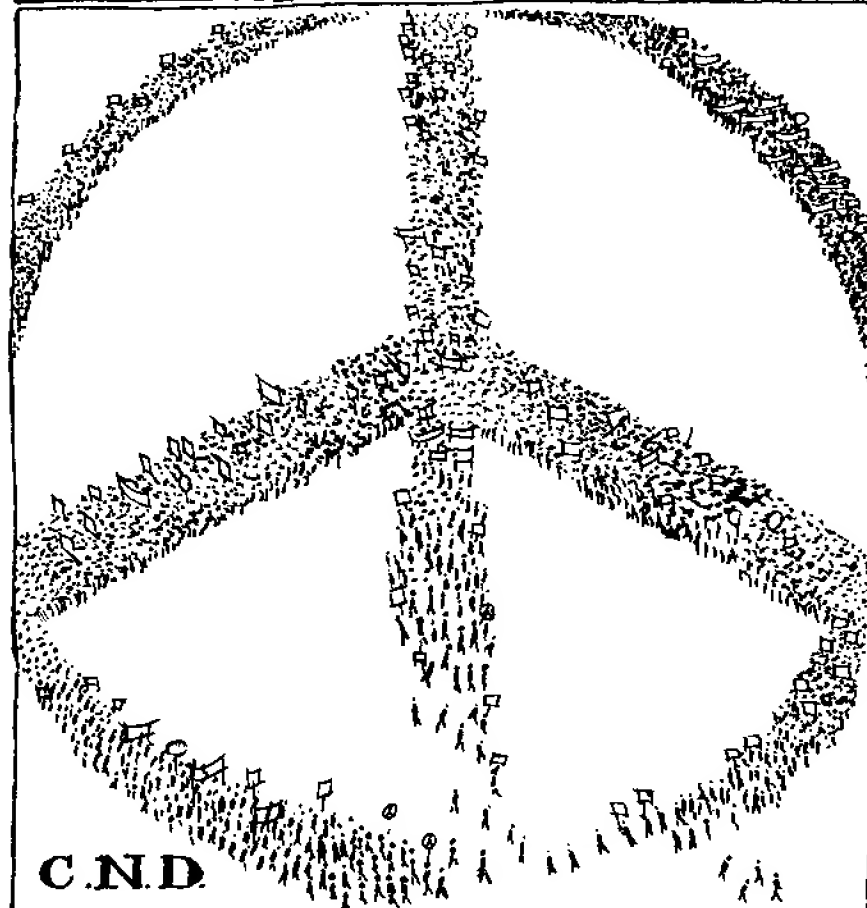
* appeasement was popular with PPU members till the government also got keen on it - and so did Adolf Hitler.



In 1940 when the Nazis had gleefully overrun half Europe Russell abruptly abandoned his pacifism. Hitler persuaded a lot of other notable pacifists to change their minds and the PPU virtually disintegrated.

World War II made pacifism a dirty word. When Russell popped up again at the head of the post-war peace movement the serious aim was no longer the abolition of War but only of some wars (e.g. Vietnam) and some weapons (chemical and nuclear).

BANNING THE BOMB



C.N.D.

CND, - the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament - the biggest popular movement in Britain this century, began in 1957 several years after the government first secretly got its hands on a nuclear bomb.

The core of CND was the old alliance of Christian pacifists and leftists but the bulk of the members were new to the art of demonstrating and were simply outraged by nuclear immorality or afraid of annihilation.①

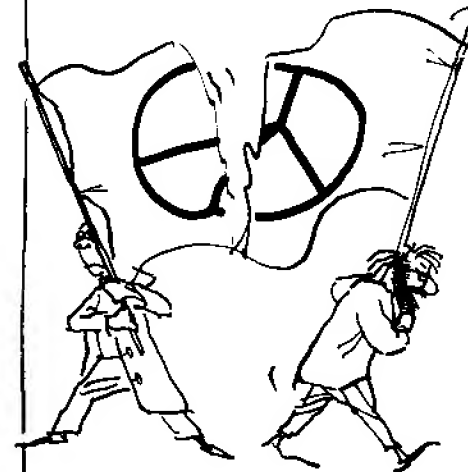
CND swept the country from 1959 to 1961 organizing vast marches on nuclear bases, but by 1964 it had virtually disappeared as a mass movement and it didn't reappear for more than 15 years. *Why?*

liberal, Marxist or Gandhian peacemaking

Some Reasons:-

CND's main political strategy - capturing the Labour Party - failed. Party conference voted for unilateral disarmament in 1960 but this was overturned the next year by the right wing.

CND was a focus for "middle-class radicalism" but it made little impression on the working class.



Its goals were foggy and the movement split. There was a running clash with a smaller, noisier campaign of civil disobedience - first the **Direct Action Committee** then the **Committee of 100** - which aimed to broaden the disarmament campaign to embrace total nonviolent revolution. Respectable opinion was shocked by its illegal antics and the organization was smashed by the police.

In 1963 a ban on nuclear testing was agreed - thanks partly to CND pressure - so there was less worry about environmental pollution. The threat of war also seemed to cool off after the Cuba crisis.



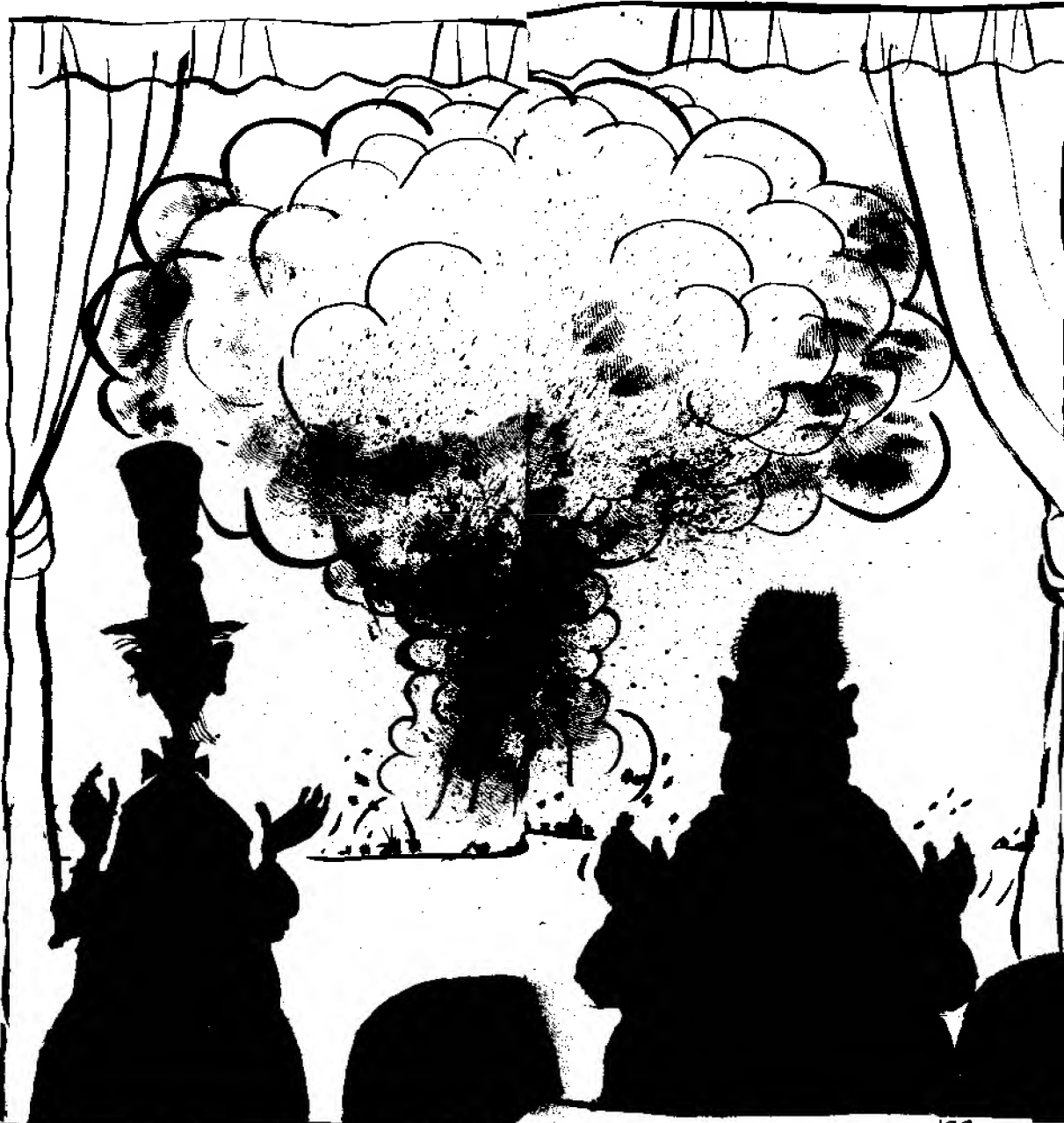
E.N.D.'s case
for unilateral nuclear
disarmament by Britain
was explicitly neither
pacifist nor neutralist:



1. Disarmament by Great Britain would inspire an admiring world with a new morality - or at least act as a brake on further nuclear proliferation.
2. Having an independent nuclear deterrent is useless because ... it's obviously useless - it was meant to prop up Britain's superpower status!
... it's not independent - Britain relies technically on the U.S. for its nuclear arsenal.
3. It's worse than useless because it could rattle the Russians into attacking first.
4. Russia is a tottery, persecuted empire which doesn't want to invade us anyway.
5. Britain simply can't afford an effective nuclear deterrent of its own.
6. Britain could stay in NATO without nuclear arms - like Canada - and rely on better conventional defence.

Peace movements sprang up all over Europe and CND came bouncing back to life in Britain when NATO (the Western military alliance) announced in 1979 that it was going to station a new range of **theatre** nuclear weapons in Europe to counter new Soviet weaponry and prepare for a limited nuclear war.

These Cruise and Pershing missiles got a lot of Europeans very agitated because they worked out that the **"theatre"** in which it was proposed the nuclear war be acted out happened to consist of their own factories, cathedrals and sitting-rooms. The prospect of keeping these weapons for American generals to shoot off more or less at their choice suddenly seemed very unattractive.



Besides the blunt old moral campaign of CND a more calculating political strategy to counter these proposed theatre weapons gained ground at the start of the 1980s: a kind of creeping neutralism linked to step-by-step disarmament.

The new European Nuclear Disarmament ①

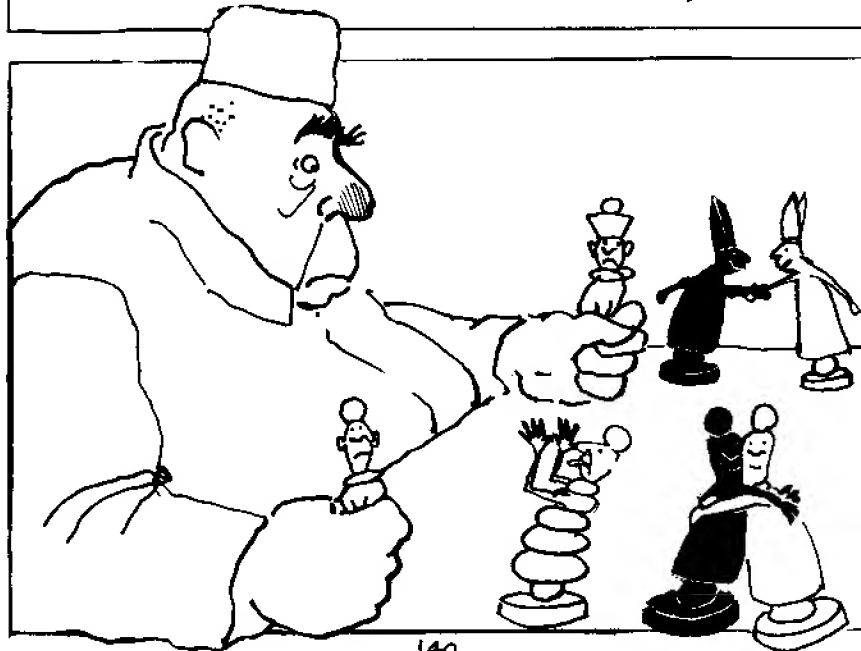
(END) movement revived the idea of **NUCLEAR FREE ZONES**. As early as 1956 the Poles had proposed a free zone to include the two Germanies, Czechoslovakia and Poland - but NATO wasn't interested in this piecemeal approach.

banning the bomb



"We must act together to free the entire territory of Europe from Poland to Portugal from nuclear weapons"

In April 1980 Edward P. Thompson, a Marxist historian (not a pacifist) who'd taken over from Russell as the leading peace propagandist, drafted an *Appeal for European Nuclear Disarmament* :- (END)

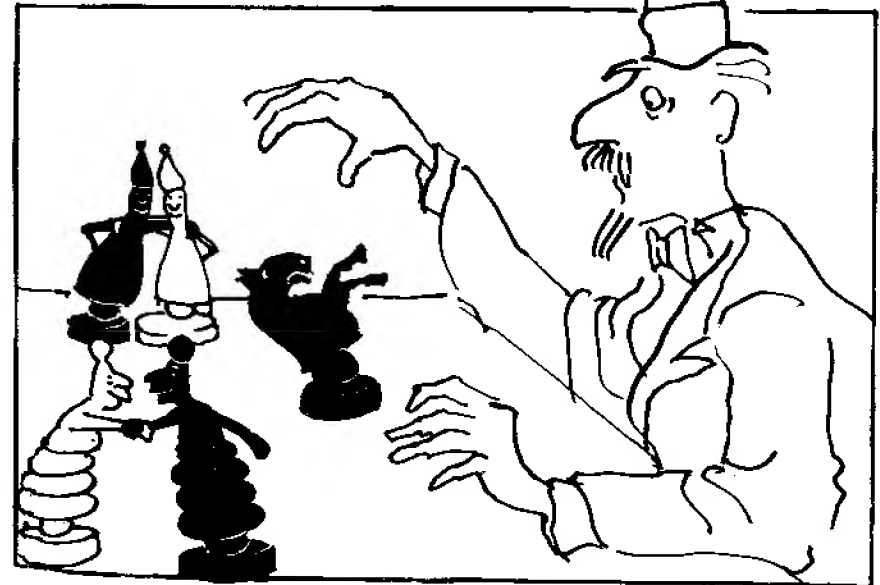


END's ultimate aim is to "dissolve both great power alliances"

"The tactics of this campaign will be both national & international. The demands (of each national peace movement) upon its own state for disarmament will be unilateral... not qualified by any notion of diplomatic bargaining"

In the international context each national movement will exchange information & delegations... The movement will encourage a European consciousness."

(In the US, the anti-nuclear movement which began to sprout at the same time focused instead around a demand for a FREEZE on new weapons) What's all the fuss about? >>>



chapter 5



is
about the Bomb

The argument:

Nuclear arms are based on quite different physical principles from other weapons.

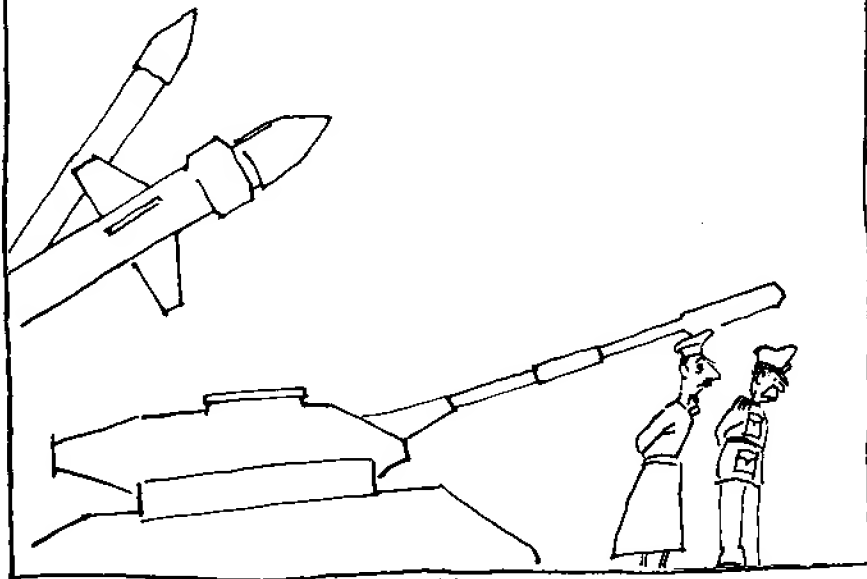
We could now easily wipe out all life on the planet.

Nuclear deterrence provides little real stability and can be attacked for being illogical and immoral. But how do we get rid of the bombs ?



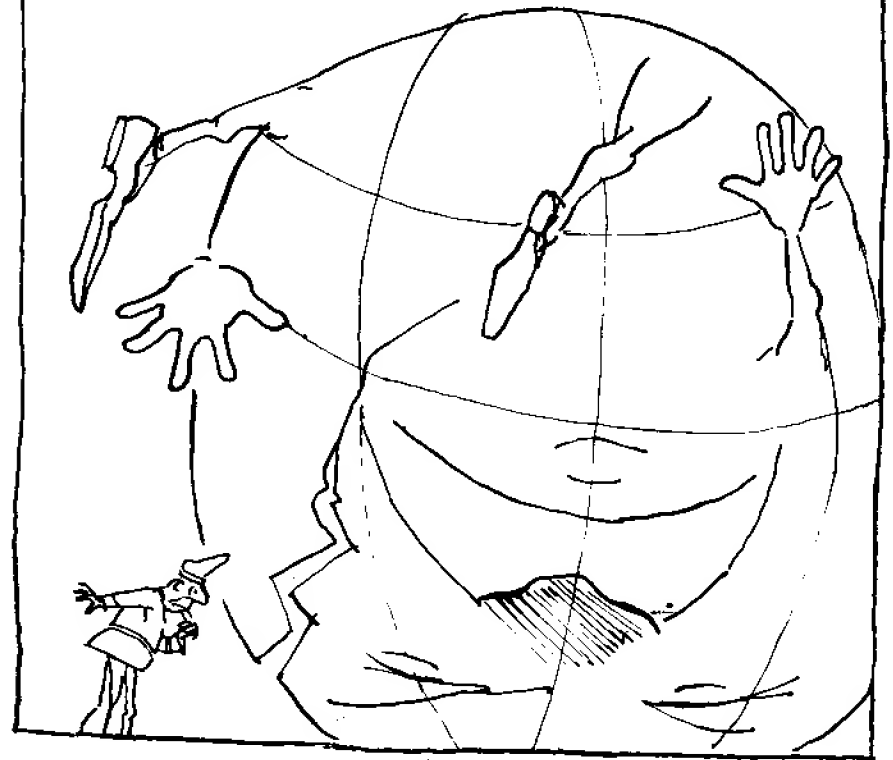
Our solid material world, complete with its familiar 3-d space and absolute time was wiped out at the beginning of this century.

Apocalypse



144.

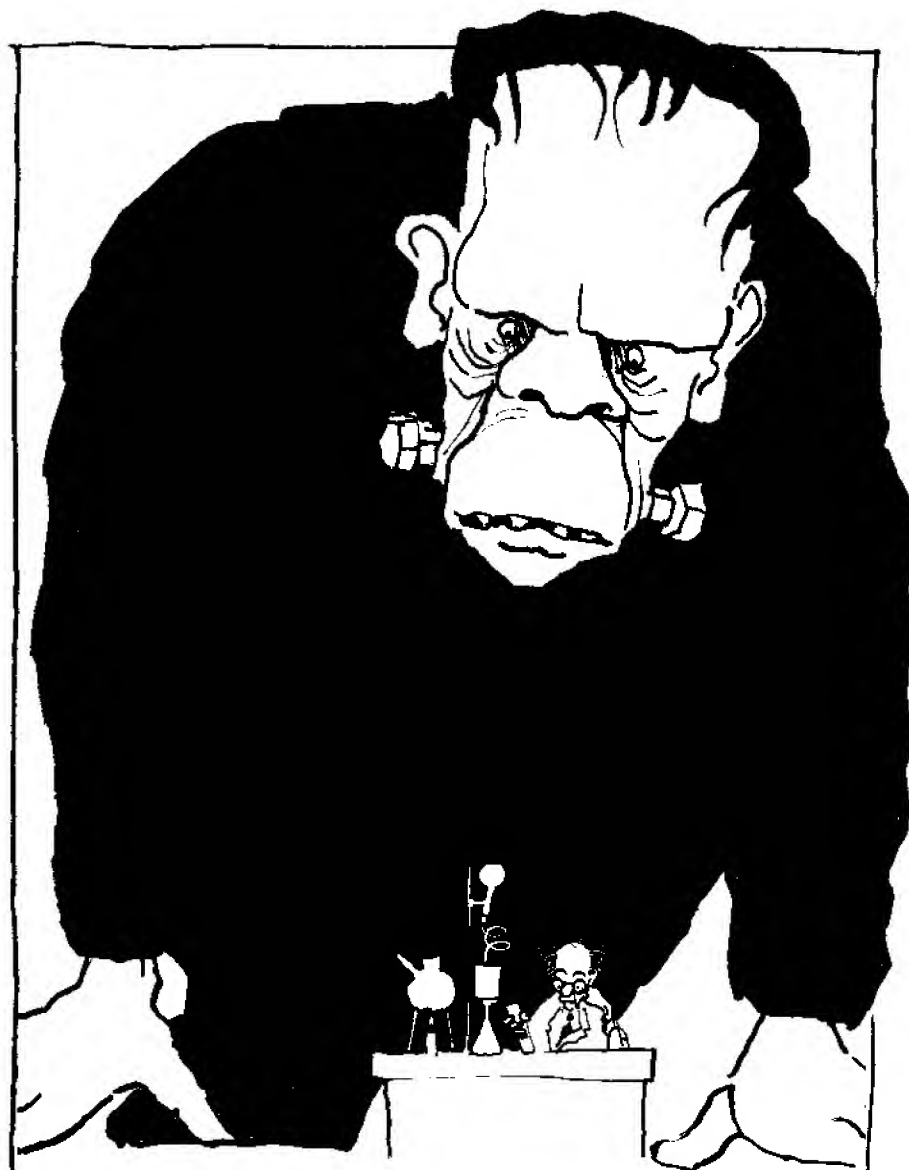
This comprehensive demolition was the work of a couple of rather obscure articles published in technical journals in 1905 by someone called Albert Einstein.^①



145.

The harder you look at matter the more it ceases to exist. The most minute particles observable, aren't really particles but patterns. At best they have a tendency to exist." ①

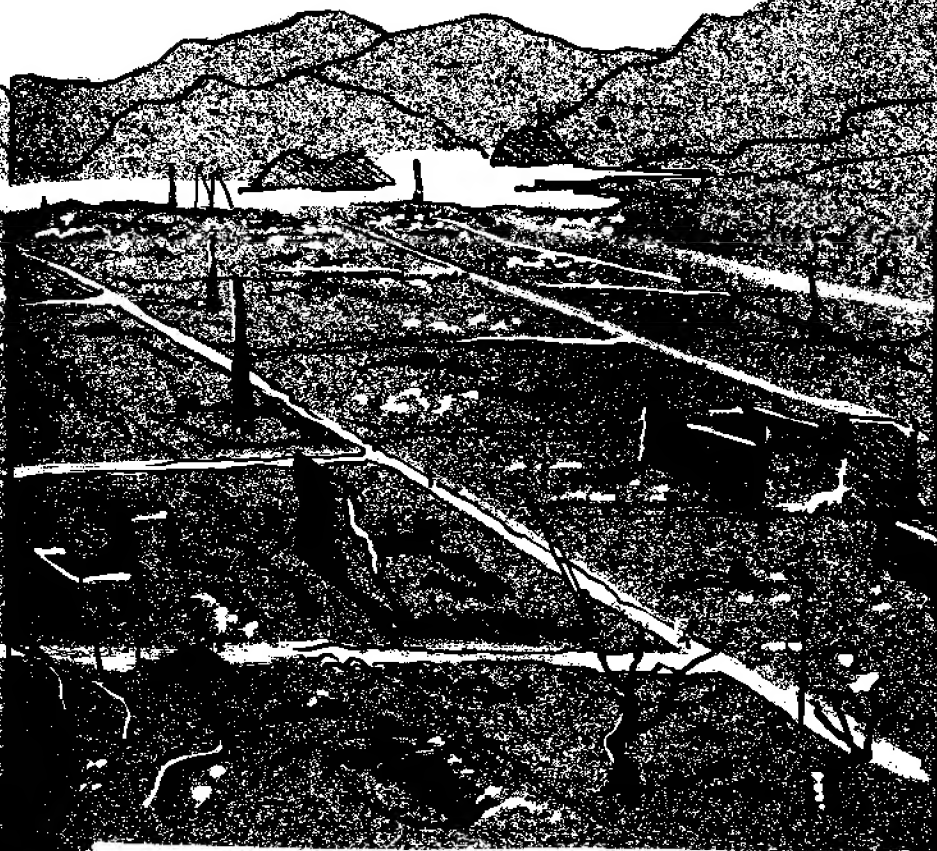
In dismantling Newton's clock-like world, Einstein opened up the discovery of an Alice-in-Wonderland universe, in which according to physicists, we happen to live: space is curved - so is time, matter can be divided again and again without ever producing smaller parts (because matter is energy, new particles are created from the energy involved in splitting the old ones)...



While working out the consequences of the Einstein revolution, scientists came across the **"strong force"** - the most powerful known physical force in the world - of which till then we'd been blithely unaware. This force bonds the inner nuclei of atoms. So in a sense it holds the whole physical universe together. ①



FOR FORTY YEARS THESE WEIRD FACTS WERE CONCEALED FROM GENERAL VIEW IN LABORATORIES. IN AUGUST 1945 A DEMONSTRATION OF THE PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE NEW DISCOVERIES WAS VOUCHSAFED TO THE PEOPLE OF HIROSHIMA. A MINUTE BIT OF URANIUM WAS UNLOCKED WITH THE HELP OF THIS "STRONG FORCE" AND TURNED INTO ENERGY. ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY THOUSAND PEOPLE WERE KILLED AS A DIRECT RESULT OF THE BLAST.



THE INSTRUMENT WHICH USES THE STRONG FORCE TO TURN MATTER INTO ENERGY LOOKS A BIT LIKE A WEAPON BUT IT'S RATHER DIFFERENT. THERE IS A PHYSICAL LIMIT TO THE EXPLOSIVENESS OF BOMBS WHICH WORK ON NEWTON'S LAWS OF PHYSICS. THE ONLY LIMIT ON NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVENESS IS THE CAPACITY OF THE GLOBE TO ABSORB THE BLAST. A few enthusiasts have already collected more than enough of these curious machines to wipe all known life off the face of this planet.

Peacemaking with the bomb:

Nearly everyone agrees that nuclear weapons are abominable but they don't agree how to make sure we never use them.

There are 2 basic views:

1. STOP MAKING THEM AND SAY WE WON'T USE THEM REGARDLESS OF ANYONE ELSE.
2. GO ON MAKING THEM AND SAY WE WILL USE THEM TILL EVERYONE AGREES NOT TO.

So far the second view has prevailed.^①

Conservatives (of right and left) believe in *forceful deterrence* (see page 93) and *multilateral disarmament*.

They think *unilateral nuclear disarmament* would be lunatic because:-

nuclear weapons can't be disinvented. Even if all the bombs are dismantled (and it wouldn't be hard to hide a few) they could be quickly rebuilt unless you also destroyed the technical knowledge which is now basic to our civilization.

the mugs who disarm would be open to constant political blackmail.



the case against unilateralism

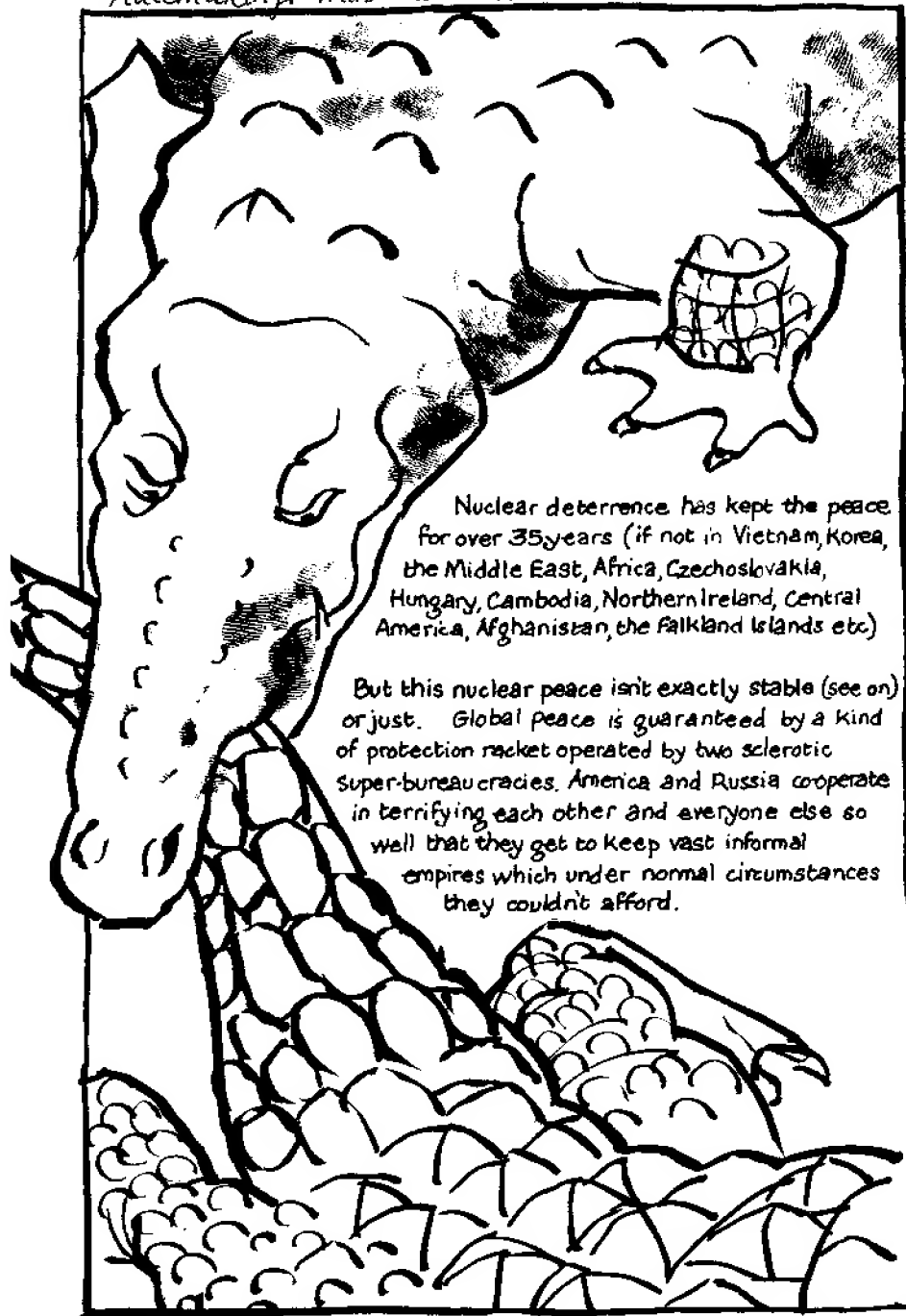


it is scarcely 'moral' to refuse to keep nuclear weapons yourself but still to rely on someone else's (which would be the case for instance if Britain disarmed but stayed within Nato)

any unilateral disarmament could knock over the delicate balance of power and so very likely trigger off catastrophe.

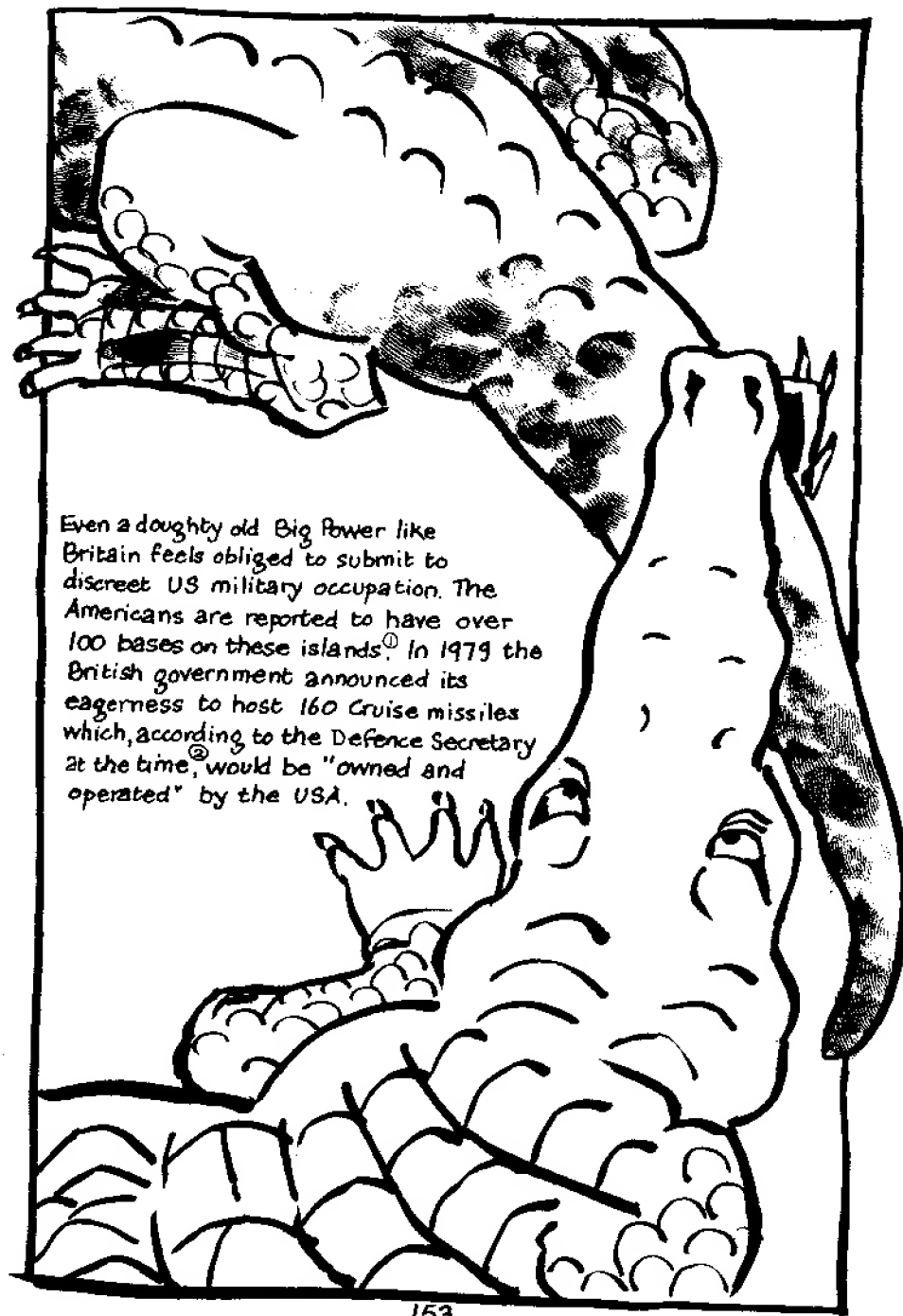
if you throw in all your aces in advance you have less chance of getting your opponent to do the same. Multilateral disarmament is safer for everyone.





Nuclear deterrence has kept the peace for over 35 years (if not in Vietnam, Korea, the Middle East, Africa, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Cambodia, Northern Ireland, Central America, Afghanistan, the Falkland Islands etc)

But this nuclear peace isn't exactly stable (see on) or just. Global peace is guaranteed by a kind of protection racket operated by two sclerotic super-bureaucracies. America and Russia cooperate in terrifying each other and everyone else so well that they get to keep vast informal empires which under normal circumstances they couldn't afford.



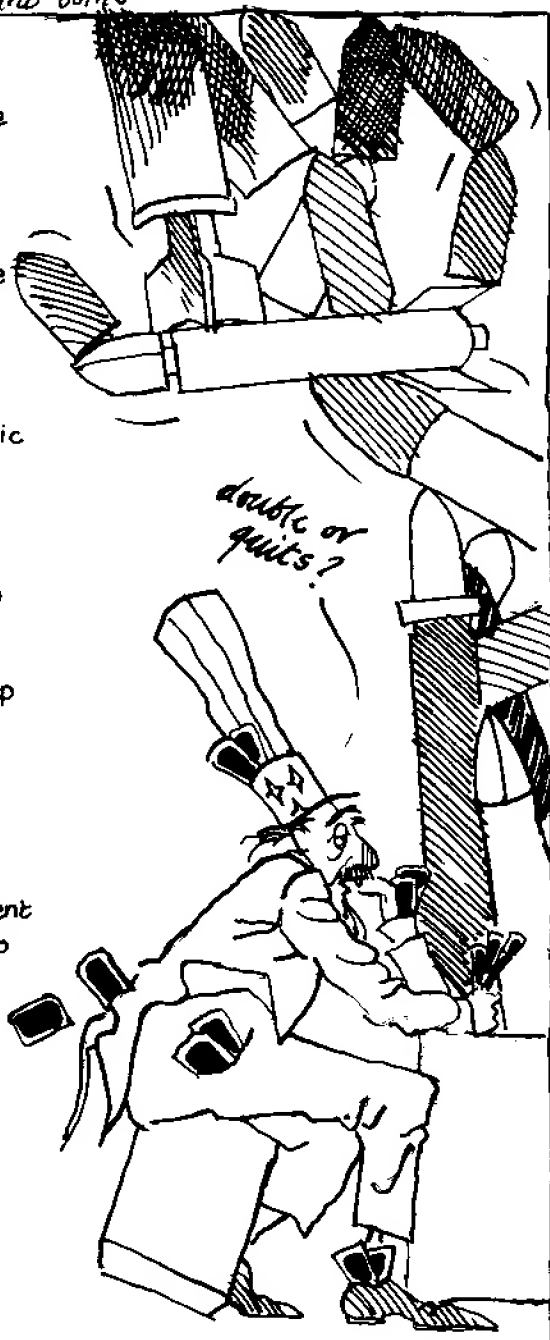
Even a doughty old Big Power like Britain feels obliged to submit to discreet US military occupation. The Americans are reported to have over 100 bases on these islands.^① In 1979 the British government announced its eagerness to host 160 Cruise missiles which, according to the Defence Secretary at the time,^② would be "owned and operated" by the USA.

Peacemaking with the bomb

Since the last war the big powers have conducted almost continuous multilateral negotiations about disarmament with the happy result that nuclear weapons are now banned on the moon, in the penguin wastes of the Antarctic and at the bottom of the sea.

All this has given us time to collect within the heartlands of western civilization enough explosive to drop one Hiroshima-sized bomb every single day for the next four and a half thousand years.

(A 20-megaton bomb is calculated to be sufficient to flatten New York & to turn its suburbs into a desert within seconds. There are thought to be roughly 20,000 megatons of nuclear explosive in the world)



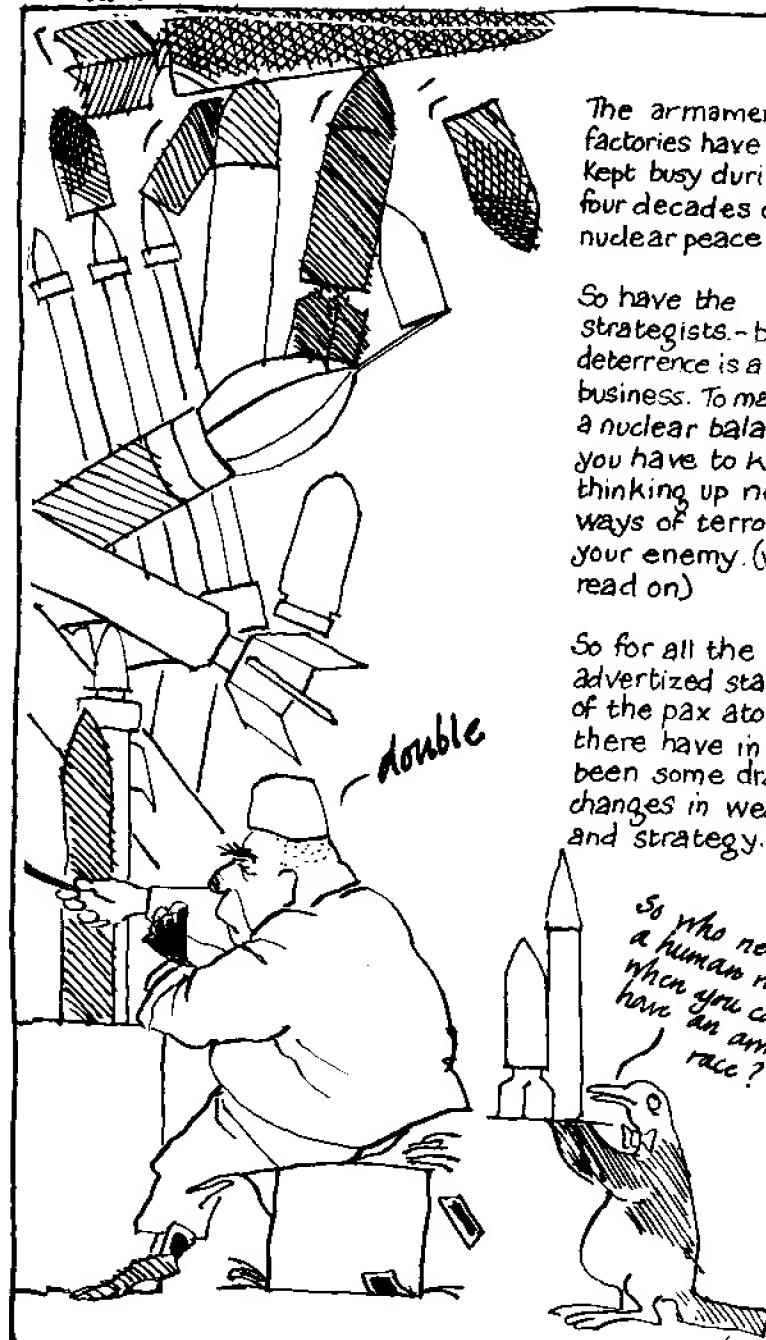
Multilateralism

The armaments factories have been kept busy during our four decades of nuclear peace.

So have the strategists - because deterrence is a taxing business. To maintain a nuclear balance you have to keep thinking up new ways of terrorizing your enemy. (why? - read on)

So for all the advertized stability of the pax atomica there have in fact been some drastic changes in weaponry and strategy.

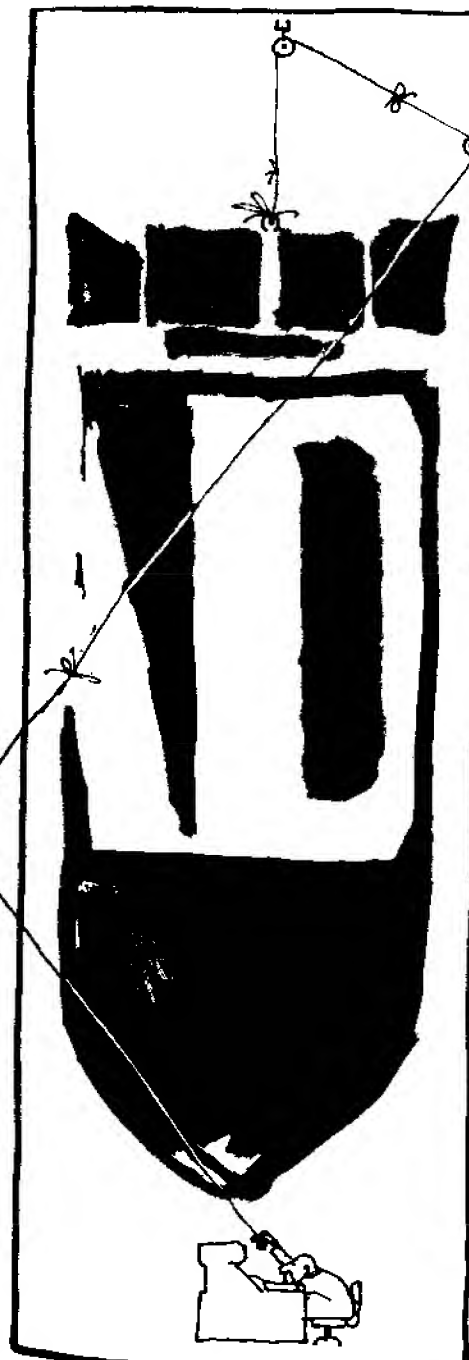
So who needs a human race when you can have an arms race?



For the first few years after the war the USA had an overwhelming superiority in nuclear weapons (a situation that is now often said to be extremely dangerous for everyone)

Western governments slashed their defence budgets to buy a more comfortable life for their subjects at this time & relied increasingly on cheap(ish) nuclear weapons to discourage the Soviet Union from using its bigger conventional army.

Even before the 1950s NATO was committed to losing off a FIRST STRIKE if necessary. That's still the case.



When the Russians caught up a bit in the arms race there emerged a strategy with the comforting little acronym -
MAD -

mutual assured destruction. Any attack would be met by all-out nuclear war.

Once you have the capacity to wipe out quarter the population & half your enemy's industrial capacity you can - according to MAD theory - forget about relative balance and the excesses of the arms race because more lethal explosive than this will make no difference to your threat.

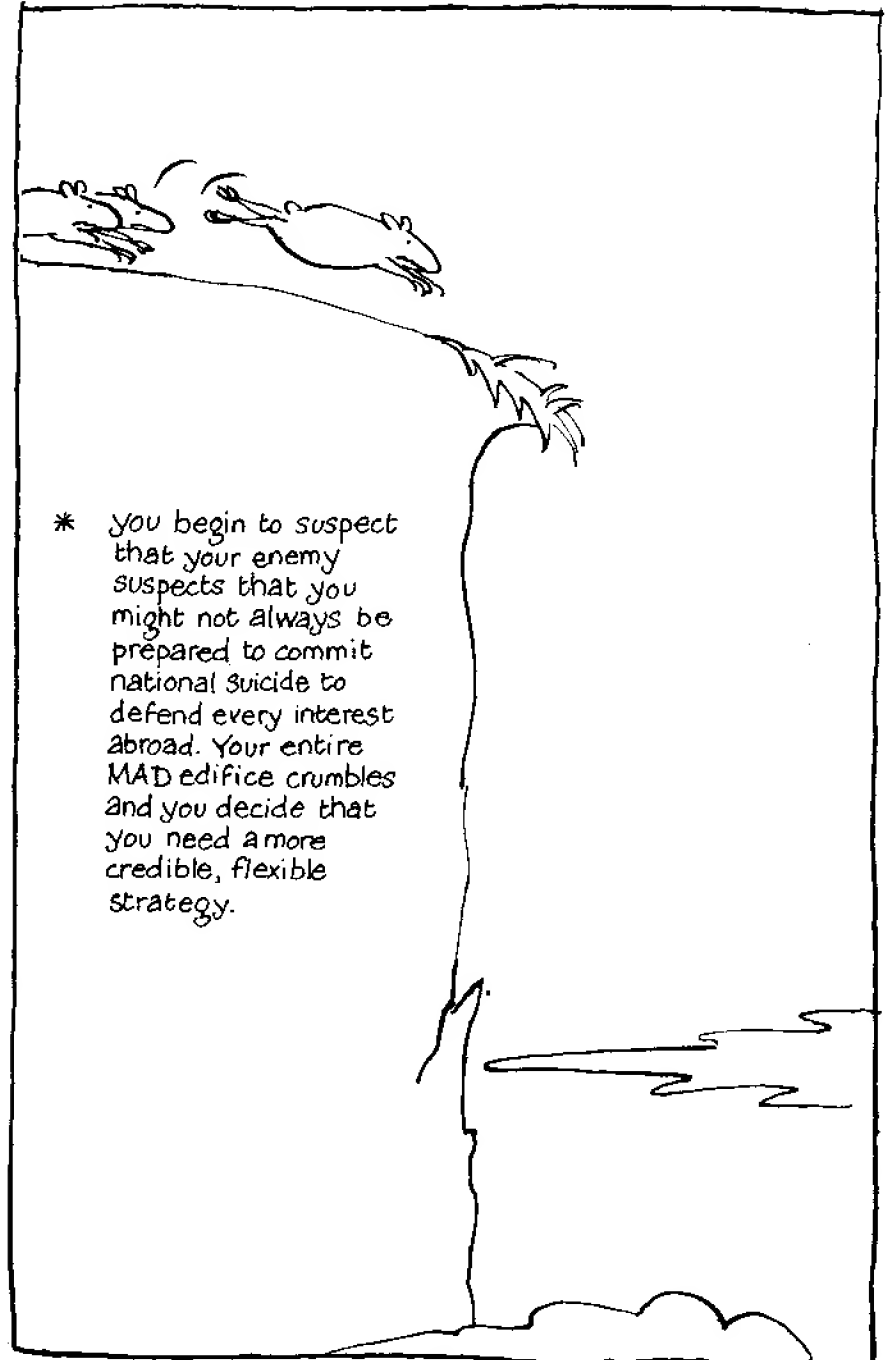
100,000 lemmings can't all be wrong.



But in practice this form of deterrence failed and the arms race sped off on a new lap because:

- * arms dealers who have a commanding place in the national economy can always think of convincing - and technologically bamboozling - "worst case" arguments why edgy politicians need more or cleverer weapons even if they can already annihilate their enemies many times over.

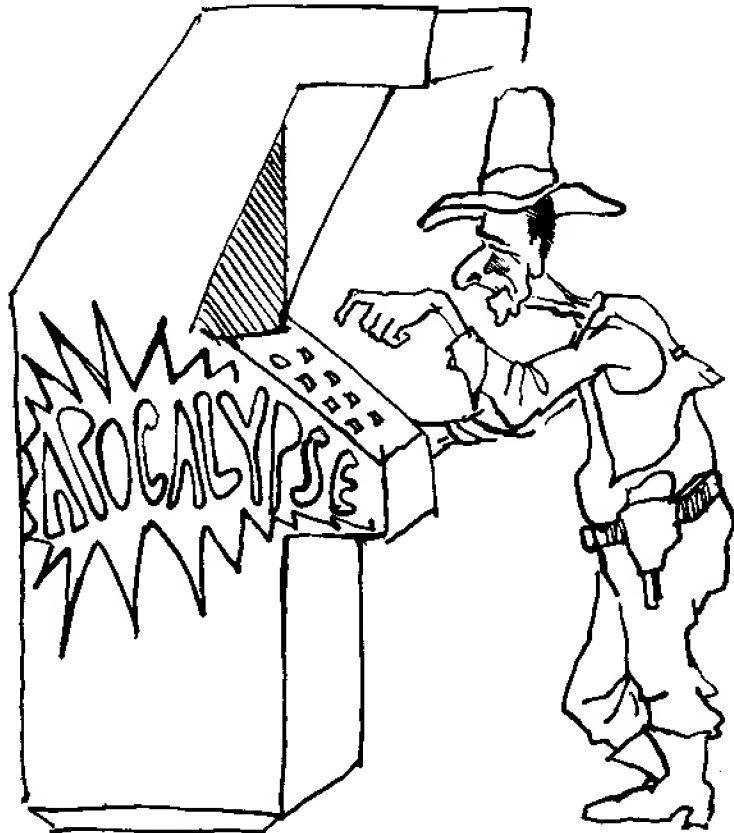
by the time we have annihilated them 73 times over, Sir,
they could have annihilated us 74 times!



- * you begin to suspect that your enemy suspects that you might not always be prepared to commit national suicide to defend every interest abroad. Your entire MAD edifice crumbles and you decide that you need a more credible, flexible strategy.

So the superpowers returned to the old balance of power theory. Within it there are two main strategies now in use: counterforce & flexible response.

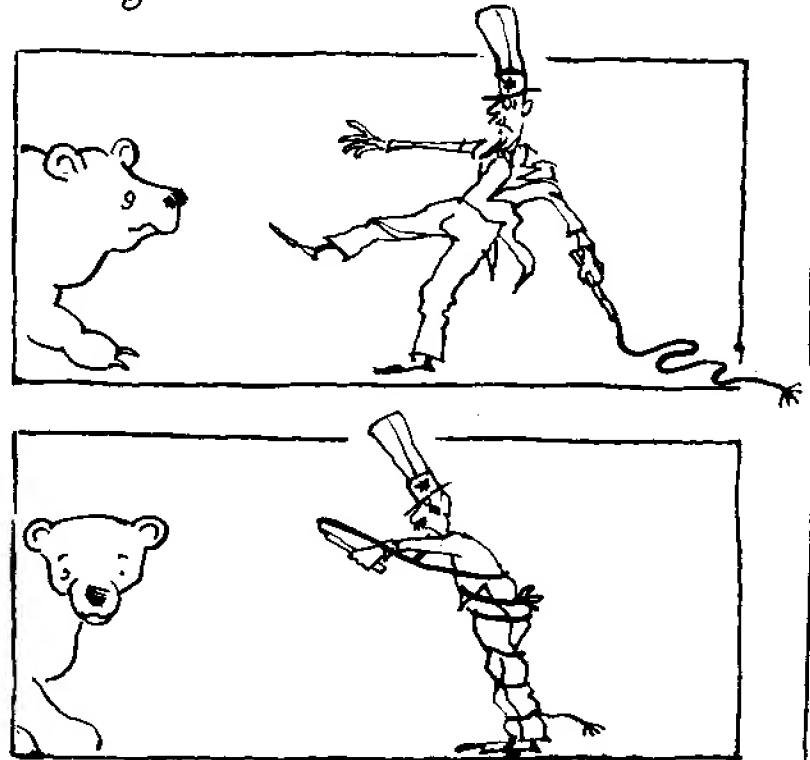
Counterforce:- Openly endorsed by President Carter in 1980, it says you can aim missiles at your enemy's military installations and avoid hitting people in cities.



President Reagan has publicly toyed with the idea of a winnable, limited nuclear war of this sort which could last six months. (one of the main snags is you can't be too sure your command centre would survive to control the war.).

Flexible Response:- tactical or "theatre" nuclear weapons could

be used on the battlefield - off American and Russian soil. They come in different sizes to match all possible acts of provocation. They were first sited in Europe in the 1950s but became specially controversial when a new batch was planned by NATO at the beginning of the 1980s: Cruise & Pershing missiles.



Five out of seven recent chiefs of British defence staff have warned that ANY use of nuclear weapons would lead to all-out escalation.

The present strategies of deterrence seem to be based on the idea of a limited nuclear war which very few people believe possible.

objections to the bomb

The main objections to nuclear deterrence are that it's contradictory, frightening & immoral.

1. It's contradictory

The super powers' love-hate relationship on which peace supposedly depends produces these paradoxes:

- a) The deterrent must be **UNTHINKABLE** but not **UNBELIEVABLE**

Either it's accepted that the bomb can't be used & is finally discarded as useless or the deterrent succeeds so long that it becomes unbelievable and so fails.

So you have to think up new ways of terrorizing your enemy - but you mustn't be too successful because an imbalance might prod him into attacking you first before it's too late.

Both sides need unpredictability but balance - it's not very surprising that disarmament bargaining doesn't often work.



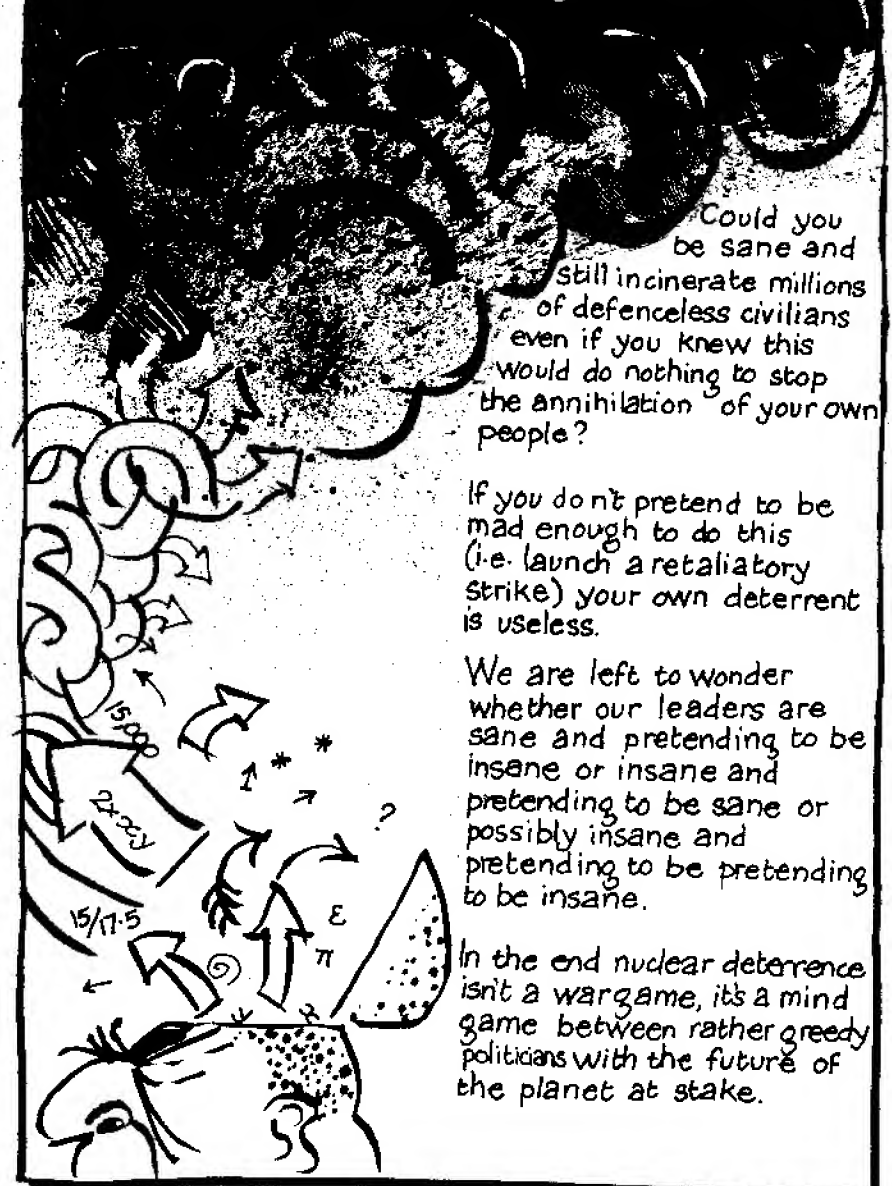
- b) The system depends on **SANE** men acting **INSANELY**

Could you be sane and still incinerate millions of defenceless civilians even if you knew this would do nothing to stop the annihilation of your own people?

If you don't pretend to be mad enough to do this (i.e. launch a retaliatory strike) your own deterrent is useless.

We are left to wonder whether our leaders are sane and pretending to be insane or insane and pretending to be sane or possibly insane and pretending to be pretending to be insane.

In the end nuclear deterrence isn't a wargame, it's a mind game between rather greedy politicians with the future of the planet at stake.



objections to the bomb

Rejoice, we have come
to rid you of tyranny!



c)

DEMOCRATIC values are
defended by threatening
MILLIONS OF INNOCENT VICTIMS
of the vile enemy system
with incineration.

The bomb isn't exactly
brotherly - nor is it very
compatible with open
democratic government.

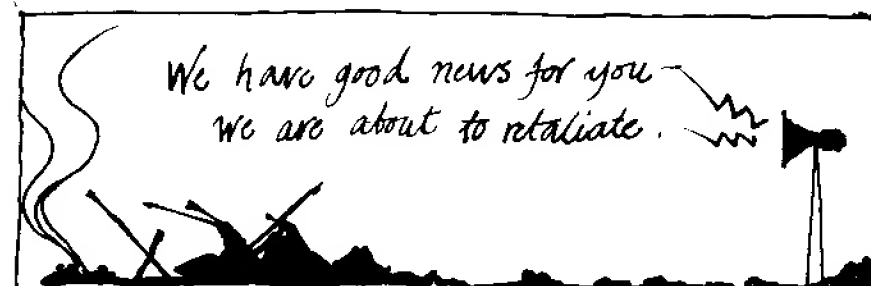
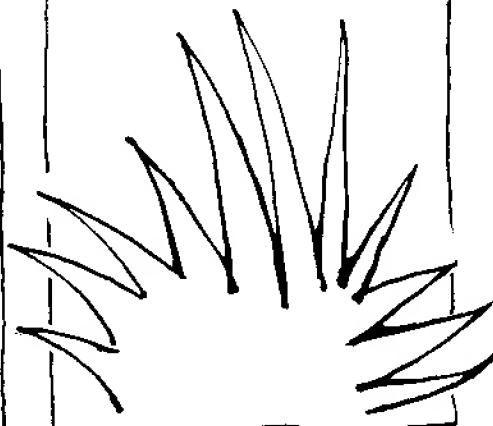


164.

Bye



The £1000,000,000
Chevaline nuclear budget
was kept secret for years
from the nosey British
people who were paying for
it. And the 1980 debate
on the Trident missile was
the first one in Parliament
on nuclear weapons for
fifteen years.



We have good news for you -
we are about to retaliate.

d)

DETERRENCE depends on being DEFENCELESS

In the nuclear age governments abandoned what they
always used to claim was their highest responsibility:
protecting their subjects against attack.

Politicians built themselves and their soldiers deep
bunkers. Ordinary citizens are defenceless nuclear
hostages.

There is NOTHING to stop an enemy annihilating us
all if the fancy takes him. Adequate civil defence
isn't supplied because it's supposed to be either
impossibly expensive or too dangerous - because
it would upset the delicate balance of terror
and invite a pre-emptive strike before we made
ourselves invulnerable.



165.

2. It's frightening...



- it might go off by accident.
- having nuclear arms gives the enemy one more reason to want to eliminate you.
- how far do we trust our own politicians computing megadeaths in their bunkers & pretending to be mad?

Yes, very good sir. I think the enemy's got the message, sir, sir, sir



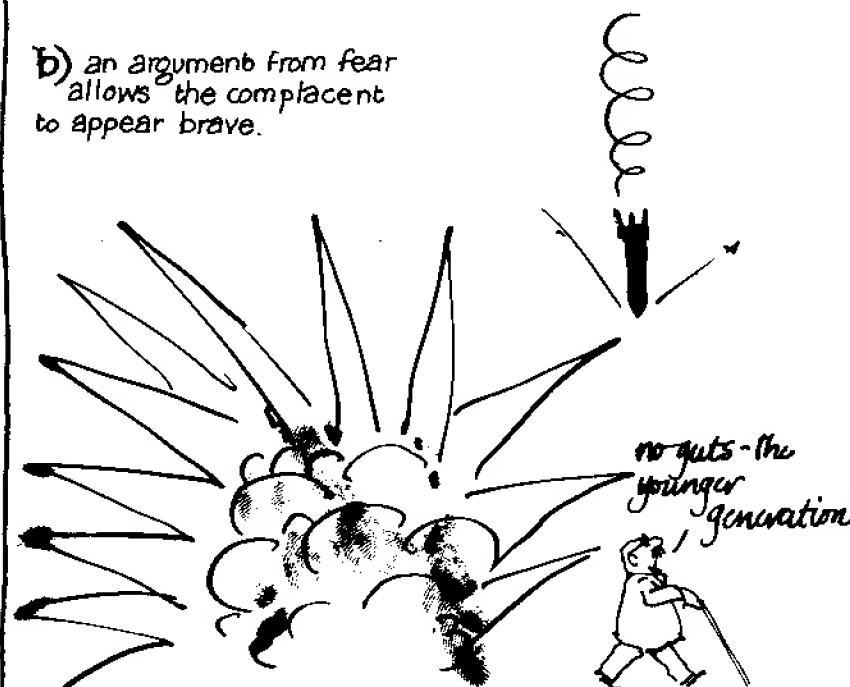
The trouble with this argument from fear is :-

- a) the alternatives are also frightening. Non-nuclear defence may possibly be safer, even cheaper (though this is very questionable), the Reds may not want to overrun us, but serious unilateral disarmament still means making yourself a beatifically-smiling sitting duck. There's no guarantee that your high-minded morality will catch on among nastier people.

Gentlemen, the time has come for a gesture of inspiring immorality - a symbol of man's inhumanity to man



- b) an argument from fear allows the complacent to appear brave.



3. It's immoral

Oh no it's not because
we certainly don't intend
to use it - only threaten
it.

But we already have
used it - twice.

It might go off accidentally

The Establishment's morality
is always coloured by national
interest.
Are the lives of one set of
civilians more valuable than
another because they live
on one or other side of a
frontier fence?

Sure - the grass is always
greener on the other guy's grave

People who say we would
never use it are themselves
asking to be disbelieved -
because otherwise it's a
WORTHLESS DETERRENT.

Objections to the bomb

the moral argument says:

the use of the Bomb - accidental or deliberate would be grotesquely immoral. for could any civilized values be defended at the cost of incinerating and torturing to death millions of ordinary people in another country?

this would make nonsense of the just war theory. but more than this - according to peace prophet jonathan schell it would run a real risk (because of escalation and then eco-disaster) of annihilating all life on the planet.

in other words it would blow up not just our enemies, our friends, ourselves, the bewildered bystanders (for whom our ideological conflict with the similarly white and wealthy Russians may well be incomprehensible), not just the animals and plants and beautiful places of the globe but also our beliefs and causes and all the future creatures and ideas which will have no chance to exist.

this isn't death - it's double death, the death even of death.

Questions:



UNIVERSALITY + SACRIFICE → PEACE

OK? ... so What universality?

at this rate the means to eliminate everyone in the world will soon be common property.

it is becoming much more difficult to eliminate our enemies without also eliminating ourselves. (does this remind you of the doctrine of Karma -page 31?)

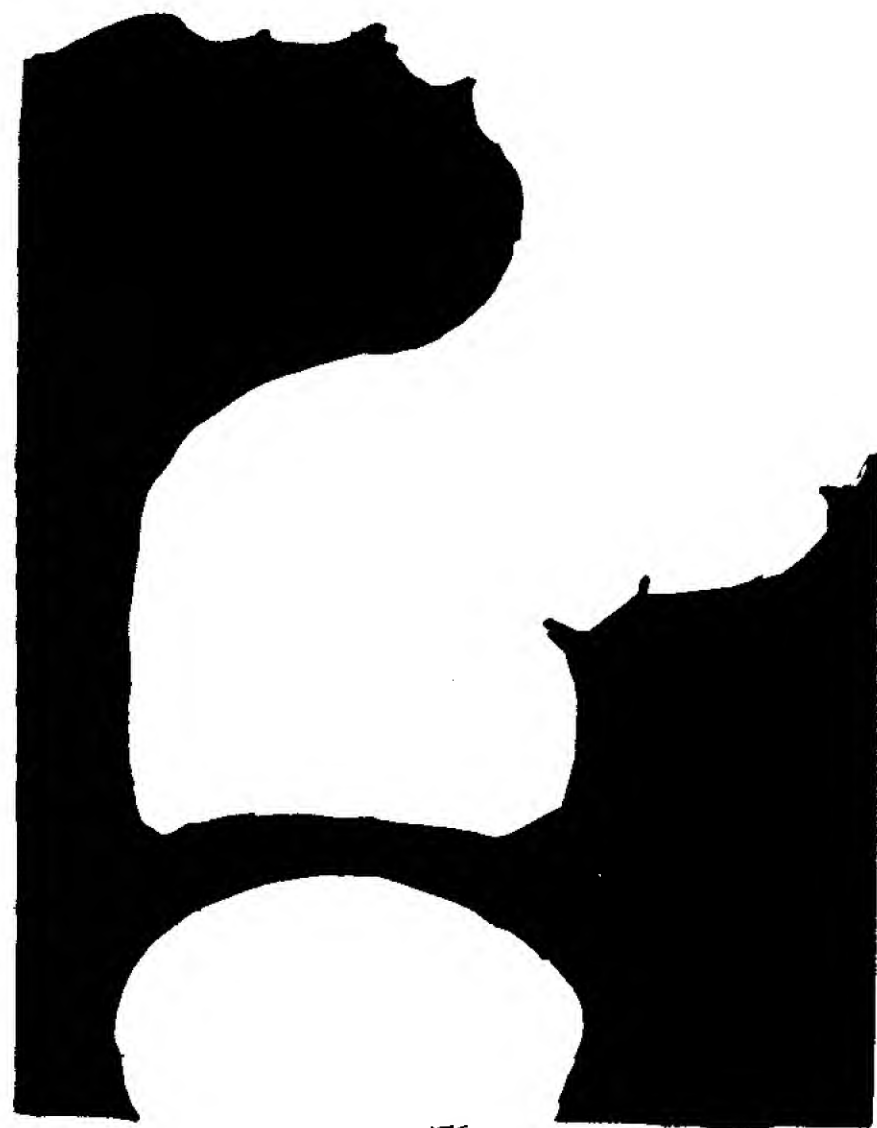
Do We share only a universal prospect of annihilation?

the pursuit of physical power now has us tottering on the brink of total powerlessness and double-death (does this remind you of the 'power paradox' -page 26?)

Is peace possible without sacrifice?

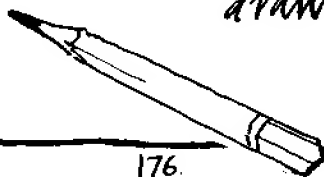
What sacrifice?

Where are the answers?



The Conclusion

draw your own



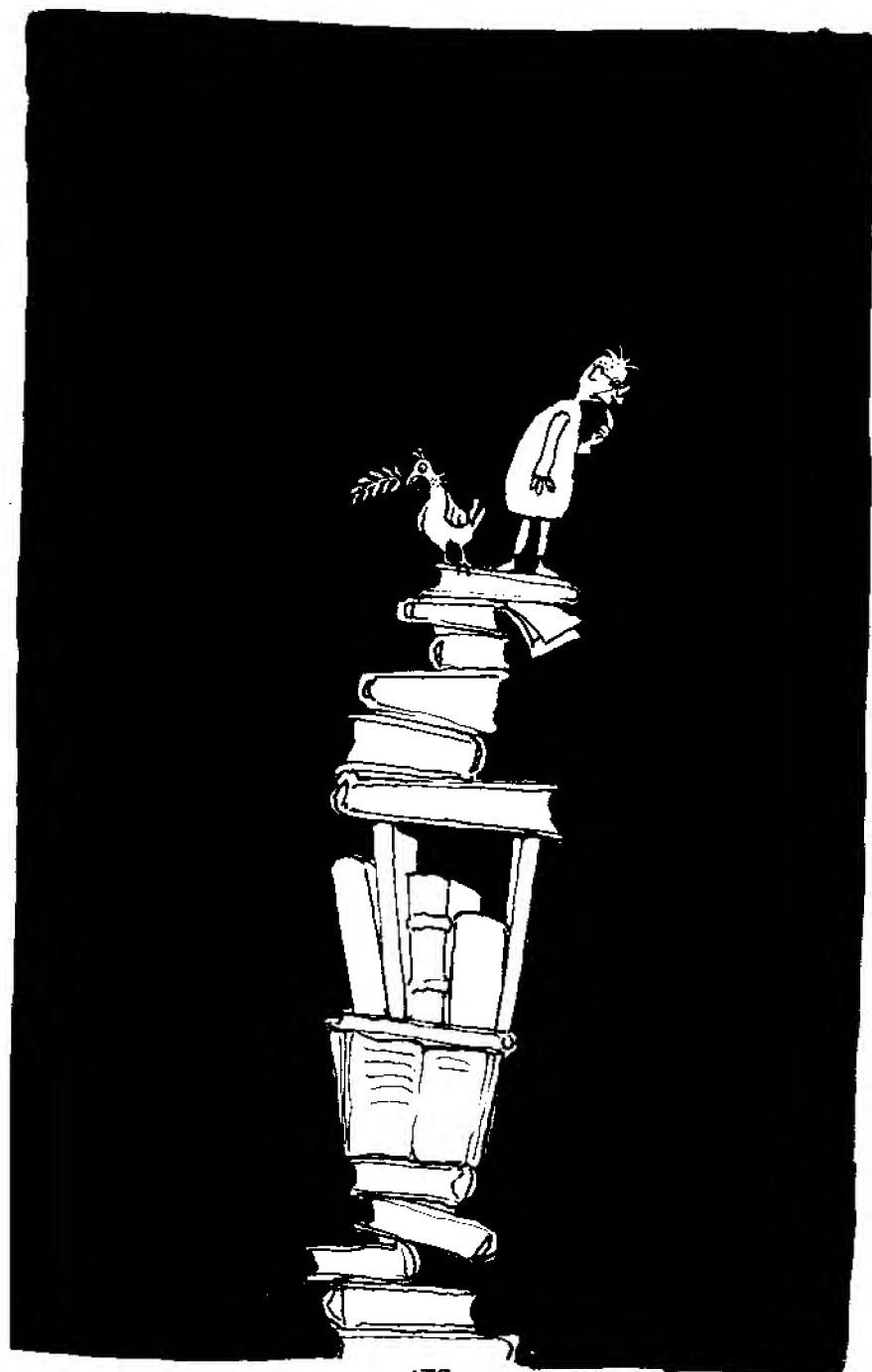
my own conclusion

I really didn't know what I thought about pacifism or the Bomb when I began this book. It was only after writing most of it that I came to this conclusion:-

- * the world is on the brink
- * straight politics or pacifism on their own are too divisive or too late to get us out of this mess.
- * the only hope is to find some kind of spiritual power based on the elemental unity in the world which the religions talk about.
- * it may sound far-fetched but it's nevertheless true that a way has now been found to experience directly the basic life energy - the "lifewave" which produces and animates everything in the world.
- * by meditating on this energy you can realize as a fact (not a theory) that you can't really kill or be killed by anyone else because your essential self is everyone & everything else in the world.
- * Ishvara, the teacher who makes this knowledge available is the Messiah for our age (he proves it). The future of the planet rests in his hands. I know / can do most to help peace and mankind by serving him.

NB. This book should not be considered representative of Ishvara's teachings. (but then, this is only Peace for Beginners!)

NOTES AND FURTHER READING



REASONS FOR FIGHTING

Total non-resistance is absurd and impossible.
Absolute pacifism is legalistic.
It involves sacrificing the defenceless as well as yourself.

Love can involve hurting or killing others for their own or a greater good.

There is in reality no such thing as death-so it is not necessarily a terrible thing to kill someone else, knowing that he is in fact yourself (because All is One).

Violence does not bind you to the illusion of the material world if you have inner detachment and selflessness.

Killing may be the lesser of two evils.

Strong defence is necessary for peace and stability in an imperfect world.

Political non-violence isn't morally pure because it involves coercion - and it almost always fails in the long run.

Multilateral disarmament is the only way to defuse tension safely.

The weak or corrupt should be eliminated.

Fighting is fun.

REASONS FOR NOT FIGHTING

Thou shalt not kill.

Turn the other cheek.

You can't love someone if you're intent on disembowelling him.

Violence is self-destructive. You can only ever hurt yourself because in reality there is no separation between between you and the rest of the world.

Violence binds the soul to matter.
Violence obscures the Truth.

"Let a man overcome anger with love," (Buddha).

"Fighting for peace is like fornicating for virginity," (anon).
"There is no way to peace - peace is the way," (A.J. Muste).

Nonviolence can be politically effective.
"The only thing that's been a worse flop than the organization of nonviolence has been the organization of violence," (Joan Baez).

War isn't worth it - overall loss is always greater than gain.
Modern war is bound to break the Just War code.
Modern war is likely to destroy the planet.

War only profits the exploiting class.

Thou shalt save thy bullets for God's Armageddon.

A rough guide to groups

PHILOSOPHY	GROUP	MOTIVE
NON-RESISTANCE ↑ ↑		
Pacifism	Jains Buddhist + Christian monks Early church Anabaptists etc Tolstoy etc	religious search for inner peace
Non-violence	Quakers Gandhi Peace Pledge Union Russell Early socialists radicals hippies	Search for peace on earth.
Defencism	E.N.D. C.N.D. Marxists liberals conservatives	self-defence
Militarism	imperialists Fascists	evolution passion
↓ ↓ AGGRESSION		

and their policies

STRATEGY	RESPONSE TO FORCE	RESPONSE TO THE "BOMB"
ahimsa ahimsa non-resistance + rejection of material power anarchism	no resistance	unilateral disarmament
social reform satyagraha appeasement internationalism isolationism feminism etc. flower-power	no violence	
neutrality demonstrating revolution reformism centralization	limited defence strong defence	multilateral disarmament
expansionism conquest	offence	
		no disarmament